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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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Selections.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

The following memorial was presented by John L. O'Sullivan, at a large and enthusiastic meeting for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, recently held in the city of New-York.

This meeting was warmly sustained by many of the most intelligent and influential men in our community. The following officers were appointed:

President—Vice-Chancellor William T. McCoun.
Vice-Presidents—Wm. C. Bryant, Benjamin Ellis, Thomas Cock, John McKeon, Jacob Harvey, and Daniel Stanton.
Secretaries—Jacob Harsen, Samuel J. Tilden, and Josiah Hopper.

Assembly to the call of the meeting, a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution for the permanent organization of a "Society for the collection and diffusion of information on the subject of the *Punishment of Death*."

The committee having reported a constitution, and the same being adopted by the meeting, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the present year:

President—William C. Bryant.
Vice-Presidents—Morris Franklin, John B. Scott.
Treasurer—Benjamin Ellis.
Rec. Sec.—Josiah Hopper.
Cor. Sec.—John O'Sullivan.
Executive Committee—Horace Greely, William H. Channing, Parke Godwin, Samuel J. Tilden, Jacob Harsen.

The memorial was adopted, and ordered to be printed, and extensively circulated. Right glad are we to help its circulation.

MEMORIAL TO THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW-YORK FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE GALLOWS.

For the following reasons—(some of them addressing themselves with greater force to some minds, and others to others)—we believe that *the punishment of death* is not only unnecessary, but far worse than unnecessary, positively and highly injurious in its direct and indirect influences on society; and we therefore call for its abolition, with the substitution, in the cases to which it is now applied, of *solitary imprisonment for life*, at labor, with civil death, and beyond the reach of the pardoning power, except for the purpose of granting a new trial in the case of the subsequent discovery of new and material evidence.

1. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, the decisive preponderance of the argument to be sought within the sacred scriptures is on the side of the proposed reform. Against it is adduced only the authority of the code of Moses, for the peculiar people, the peculiar land, and the peculiar times, for which it was his inspired mission to legislate; together with that of a single ambiguous text of earlier date, which prejudiced theologians pervert into a perpetual and universal injunction, only by a process of mistranslating and misapplying, which is repudiated and refuted by others of at least equal piety and learning. In favor of the proposed reform, on the other hand, almost every page of the New Testament is beautiful with its radiant testimony; the light of which glows only the brighter from the failure of the efforts made to find a few specks on its surface, and to extract from two or three uncertain texts a scant and doubtful toleration of a practice emphatically condemned by the whole pervading spirit of the volume.

2. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because it is a well settled axiom, that certainty of punishment, is a much more effectual restraint from crime than its severity. A *more* probable chance of a *less* penalty (provided it be still of a formidable degree of severity) will always operate more influentially on conduct than a *less* probable chance of a greater. The mind brooding over temptation to crime dwells on the bright lights of its favorable chances far more than on the darker shades of the same perspective picture. From the days of Draco to our own, penal law has constantly found itself compelled to promote its own steadiness and efficiency of action, by a moderation of the harsher severities bequeathed to it from the mistaken policy of less enlightened times. Laws at variance with public sentiment are confessedly inoperative; and in proportion to the extent of that variance, is the uncertainty of their execution. It is not to be questioned that a deep and strong public feeling, hostile to this social institution of the gallows, pervades at least a very large portion of the community. Whether it be a majority or minority, affects this argument only in degree. The action of juries, when death is the stake at issue, is proverbially irregular,—inclining in the long run improperly to the side of mercy against truth, though occasionally, for short periods, oscillating back to the opposite extreme;—the two alternate evils thus fatally reciprocating each other, an excessive leniency which grants an unjust and unwise impunity to guilt, followed by an excessive, though brief severity which is sometimes hasty and rash in inflicting irremediable punishment upon innocence. The probability of escape, derived from that wide-spread repugnance to the death-doom which is more or less strong in every jury-box and on almost every bench, and magnified by the delusive flatteries of hope, cannot but be a very material element in the calculations of every mind meditating crime. Under the operation of the proposed reform, it cannot be denied that the action of the law would be much more certain, uniform, and steady. Convictions would in many cases take the place of those improper acquittals which at once encourage crime in others by their example of impunity, and let loose the worst criminals back upon society, hardened by a first guilt and emboldened to its repetition.* In this connection, we may refer, (among other judicial authorities,) to that of one of the most eminent ornaments of the bench of this city, the worthy son of a worthy father—who has derived a decided opposition to the law of death from the opportunities of observation afforded by his position; and who has remarked, that while it excludes from the jury-box a large proportion of those persons best competent for its important function, it sends into it a large proportion of those who do take their seats there, with minds more than half unfitted for the solemn duties to which they are sworn.

3. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because it is a great mistake to suppose that the fear of a possible chance of death—that eventual end to which we all know that every step in life is bringing us nearer and nearer—has often much effect in deterring men from any act to which they are impelled by any powerful passion or motive. They are usually in such state of mind as to defy and despise it; or else, impelled by temptation, and deceived by hope, their fear of it prompts only to more effectual precautions for concealment and escape. There is nothing that men are constantly hazarding with more thoughtlessness than their lives. The natural dread of death when actually close and certain, is very different from the careless indifference with which most men find like difficulty in exposing themselves to the mere chance of a greater or less risk of encountering it. As a deterring penalty, weakened as it is by the diminished probability of its infliction, it is believed to be a far less effective and useful one, as a general rule, than the substitute proposed. Though when actually within the shadow of the gallows, there are few who would not pray for its commutation into imprisonment, yet while both are still distant and doubtful, even on the supposition of an equality of chances, the thought of the latter, with an utter impossibility of escape or pardon—perpetual, ignominious, laborious, and solitary—will, to a large majority of minds, present by far, the most effective terrors. It is the spontaneous remark heard from four out of every five to whom the proposition is presented, that *they* would prefer death to such a doom. How much is the force of this argument increased, when we add to it that of the greatly-increased certainty of punishment which it is not denied would attend the proposed reform. It is a fact established by the most conclusive statistics, that the fear of the penalty of death has never been found effectual to restrain men from a host of minor offenses to which it has been applied. In all the progressive meliorations of the penal code, the substitution of imprisonment for death has always been found to work with perfect success, diminishing instead of increasing the number of the offenses committed; and there is every reason to anticipate with confidence a similar beneficial result from extending it to the few crimes which are yet left on our statute book as punishable with blood.

4. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because every execution puts in a jeopardy, beyond our power to estimate, the eternal destiny of a human soul, that might have been saved, under the influences which the Bible, with the time allowed by its Creator's own fiat, would bring into the solitary cell. Not only a large number, but the greater number of criminals actually go to the scaffold impenitent. Especially to all who receive the doctrine of the eternal horrors of the future doom of sin, must this argument address itself with an awful force. It appears incredible that any such can dare the tremendous responsibility of that penalty which must hurry an immortal soul, reeking with recent guilt, to such a fate. Among the most depraved of those whom the mistaken and inconsistent legislation of a Christian community thus plunges into eternity, with all their transgressions on their heads, ending life in reckless blasphemy, in stupid insensibility, in hopeless despair, or under the influence of that too often deceptive repentance which is the mere offspring of terror, who can venture to say that even the very worst, if he had been secluded for years from the contagious society of his associates, and submitted to the influence of a process of moral and religious instruction, might not have unfeignedly repented of his past enormities, and expiated them in a way most beneficial to the country he has injured?

5. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because it is not necessary to hang a man who has committed a murder, for the protection of society against a possible repetition of the act. That argument would with still greater force require the destruction of every homicidal lunatic, and indeed of every lunatic, from the general tendency of insanity more or less towards homicide. It is not deemed necessary to kill every ferocious wild beast, against which society can for its amusement protect itself with entire ease and security by enclosing them in cages. Lunatic asylums have no difficulty in this respect. The science of prison construction and prison discipline at the present day, is abundantly adequate to the safe custody of any number of murderers that may be committed to the massive triple and quadruple walls of their solitary cells. They can be easily precluded, not only from all possibility of escape, but also from that of injury to their keepers within the prison. It is alone an essential part of the proposed reform that it should be accompanied by the abrogation of the pardoning power in such cases.

6. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, nothing short of an absolute and demonstrable necessity can justify its maintenance. Avoiding all metaphysical argument upon the abstract right of society to inflict the punishment of death, and conceding it, on the principle of self-defense, when no other adequate means of self-defense exist, we insist that it is only in a *clearly established* case of such *absolute necessity*, that the right can be rightfully exercised. In the face of the vast accumulation of evidence and argument adduced by those who have written against capital punishment, no such clear necessity can be now pretended. Even those who may not see in those writings an absolute demonstration of the superior advantages of the proposed reform, cannot at least refuse to admit the strong case of probability made out by them, imposing on us at least the duty of experiment—an experiment which can only too easily be abandoned, if, contrary to all probability, our experience should prove less successful than that of others who have not been afraid to venture on the same, under circumstances less favorable than our own. Independently of every other objection to that cherished institution, this experiment at least ought not, under such circumstances, to be refused, even by those who may mistrust its issue, to those deep and earnest feelings and convictions of a very large and increasing portion of the community, conscientiously opposed to the punishment of death, which are so painfully shocked and outraged by every occasion of its infliction.

7. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, while the reasons thus far adduced are chiefly confined to the demonstration that it is *unnecessary*, and that the proposed substitute may be adopted with safety and probable advantage, our case does not stop at that point; but we derive our strongest objection to the punishment of death from the conviction that it is far worse than merely useless—that it is fatally pernicious, and attended with the most demoralizing and brutalizing influences upon society; multiplying the very crime which it vainly seeks to prevent, by imitating and suggesting it—so that in the opinion of many who have reflected much on this subject, *the hangman is himself the direct or indirect cause of more murders than he ever punishes or avenges.*

8. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because it is founded on and sustained by a radically vicious, moral principle—the principle of *vengeance*; a principle which, however it may disguise itself under the name of *Justice*, is condemned not less emphatically by the highest wisdom of human reason, than by the pervading spirit of the whole faith and philosophy of Christianity—at least as a rule for human action. The prevention of crime, and the reformation of the criminal, are the sole objects of a just and true penal system. Vindictive punishment, on any rule of retaliation, apportioning penalty to guilt for its own sake, to satisfy an imaginary, if not impiously presumptuous equilibrium of retribution, we hold to be utterly forbidden, at least to human hands and human judgments. The benevolent objects above referred to, *prevention* and *reformation*, pursued in a spirit of merciful love even for the wretch whose very name implies his wretchedness, must be the sole aims of all such punishments as *we* can claim any right to inflict. One of these two essential objects is utterly violated in the practice of the death punishment. To exterminate, not to reform, is the revolting function of the hangman; and it is in the spirit, and on the avowed rule of retaliation, the claim of "blood for blood," that it is inflicted. This bad spirit of *vengeance*, in various degrees and modes, pervades a large part of the penal laws, even of the most civilized Christian communities, though it is now beginning fast to melt away beneath the warm light of that gospel which so few of them have as yet comprehended or felt. In the law of death, it stands revealed in its worst and most manifest hideousness; and by its example exercises a strong influence on the moral education of every community in which it subsists—on the formation of the habits of thought and feeling of individuals, and of the general spirit of society. The evil seed does not fail to bring forth its due abundance of evil fruit. The powerful influence of the laws on the character of the people living under them, is seldom sufficiently appreciated; and in it is contained the explanation of the truth which has become almost a truism, that cruel laws make a cruel people; and that the mitigation of the more fierce and sanguinary features of the one, is always attended with a corresponding diminution of the more fierce and sanguinary crimes committed by the other.

9. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, peculiarly fatal effects attend the example which it presents to the community living beneath its perpetual shadow. It weakens the idea of the sacred inviolability of human life, to familiarize the mind with that of its deliberate, relentless extinction. It tends to harden the hearts of men; to give a rude shock to that natural instinct which prompts them to revolt at the idea of the cold and willful infliction of death by man upon his fellow-man; by that shock to derange the action and weaken the deep-seated strength of that instinct, and to send away from the field of blood, and the spectacle of the gallows, many a man far more ready than he came, to yield to the temptations that may beset him, to commit a murder to which he may be urged by any strong motive of malignity or cupidity. The number of cases is very remarkable, of men who have gone fresh from the sight of recent executions to commit similar crimes—in some instances by a horrible species of fascination, committing them with a strange imitation of the very mode and weapon employed by the man whose execution they had witnessed. Out of 167 malefactors under sentence of death, visited by the Rev. T. Roberts, of Bristol, the number who had witnessed executions, was 164. This tendency is diminished only in *degree*, by the privacy of executions—the effect being similar, when it is known that at a certain hour the hideous and disgusting process is being performed within a neighboring prison-yard, even though its sombre wall may screen it from the actual view of all but the select number of "invited guests."

In another mode, too, is this example of the high sanction of society itself, to the moral righteousness of inflicting death as a fitting and lawful penalty for crime, attended with most pernicious and demoralizing effect. It is, in truth, probably, the indirect origin of the greater proportion of all the murders that do take place. Very few of these are murders of cupidity; they are generally murders of revenge, or excited passion. All men are daily liable to be thrown into circumstances where they are the objects of wrongs, real or imaginary, greater or less, for which it may be impossible to seek redress from the public justice. To the disordered reason or passions of individuals smarting under the resentments of such situations, this solemn public practice operates as a direct suggestion and encouragement to exercise the same analagous right, with the private hand. Hence many a private murder of assassination, and many a public murder of duelling, which would never have taken place but for this fatal suggestive example and sanction held up high in view to the whole community by the law itself. Revenge always calls itself, and generally believes itself to be justice. "Half the odium and horror of taking life is lost," says Mr. Livingston, "by the example of seeing it made a public duty, whilst the motives are sanctified which are but too apt to justify it in the mind of an injured individual, who magnifies the injury he has received, overlooks the provocation he gave, and thinks himself justifiable in doing, to satisfy his passions, that which public justice does from the same motive, revenge. The sensation of horror with which we see a human being suffer a violent death, would certainly be increased, if the hand of justice was never employed in the unholy work; and private vengeance would be checked by the laws, when they no longer encouraged it by their example." Instead of thus desecrating and violating, it should be the policy of all social government to maintain and magnify, by every means in its power, this great moral idea of the sacred inviolability of human life. In opposition to our present practice, no more impressive lesson of it could be taught, than by respecting it even in the person of the murderer himself; and far more would be done to prevent murders, by thus strengthening this association in the public mind, than any punishment, with whatever aggravation of torture, can ever effect through fear.

10. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, from a strange principle of insane imitativeness which appears often to reside in the human mind, it has been observed, in frequent cases, that executions are very liable to be immediately followed by suicides by hanging, clearly traceable to the suggestive influence of the former on the disordered imagination.

11. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, from the mysterious nature of insanity, it is both physically and morally impossible to draw any line of demarkation at which a just responsibility for crimes of violence, at the cost of such a penalty as death, begins or ends; and *because*, while many a criminal has thus been consigned, by a terrible mistake of the social justice, to the scaffold instead of to the lunatic asylum, a still greater number annually escape all punishment, under the screen of the uncertainty of this plea, whom juries would not hesitate to consign to the substitute penalty now proposed, whether on the ground of guilt or insanity.

12. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because the punishment of death is irremediable, and numerous cases, very numerous,* have occurred, in which, whether from perjury, or mistake in the case of direct evidence, or from deceptive appearances in the case of circumstantial testimony, or from both causes combined, it has been inflicted on those whose innocence has been discovered only too late; *because* the number of such cases in which no subsequent revelations have brought to light the innocence of the victims of the law, can only be a subject of conjecture—a conjecture in which we can have no other clue to guide us than the sad probability to be derived from the large number who annually go into the very presence of their Maker with unwavering asseverations of their innocence; and *because*, from the necessary imperfection of all human testimony, such cases must always continue to occur, so long as the fearful practice is retained, the abolition of which is here invoked.

13. *We call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, by abolishing the publicity of executions, our own law has already half acknowledged their inutility, if not their pernicious influence, as deterring examples. If that argument in their favor were sound, it should rather be the policy of the law to assemble the whole community to witness the terrifying spectacle. The gallows is already emphatically condemned by that just voice of a wise and righteous public sentiment, which has bid it shrink from the open light of day within the shaded gloom of the prison enclosure.

14. *And we call for the abolition of the gallows*—Because, finally, there exists abundant testimony in the experiments that have been already made in other countries, less enlightened and civilized than our own, to the safety, and probable beneficial influence that would attend the proposed reform. In the case of minor offenses, whenever the statistics of its operation have been preserved, its abolition has uniformly been found followed by a diminution of the offenses. We never see a backward step taken in this reform, nor the death penalty ever found necessary to be restored, where once it has been removed. It was not found necessary to security and good government, during all the better period of the republic of ancient Rome, for two centuries and a half. In Russia it has long been disused, as any part of the civil administration of justice, with such success that the universal public opinion in that country is unanimous against it; and the present emperor has given evidence of the general satisfaction with the operation of the law elsewhere, by extending it over the province of Finland, (before under the Swedish laws,) on its incorporation with the empire in the early part of his reign. During the period of about a quarter of a century, when it was abolished in Tuscany, all crimes of violence were much more rare than either in the same country *before* the experiment, in the same country *after* its restoration by the French revolutionists and Bonaparte, against the wishes of the people of Tuscany themselves, or in the adjacent Italian states, *during the same period*. In Belgium, also, it was practically abolished in the year 1830, by a general system of the commutation of all sentences of death; and with a degree of success, under very unfavorable circumstances, fully justifying our views of its safety, so far as may be judged from the latest evidences in our possession. Various other minor trials of the reform in question have also been made elsewhere, all pointing uniformly in the same direction, for which reference can only be made in this place to the published writings of the advocates of the measure.

For these reasons, then, necessarily restricted to a brief outline in their statement, we call for the abolition of the gallows, and for the adoption of the proposed substitute, alike in the names of Christianity, civilization, reason, mercy, justice, expediency, and experience.

* To show a large increase in the proportion of conviction of commitments on the removal of the death penalty from other offenses than murder—thus showing the increased steadiness of the administration of the law through the juries, and the increased certainty of punishment—would be said by our opponents to prove nothing but the repugnance of juries to the death-penalty for those minor offenses. We therefore refrain from presenting any of the evidences to that point. But the same tendency is also seen to exist in the case of murder. We have no statistics of our own collected on the subject; but in England, where they are copious and accurate, and where the horror and detestation of the crime of murder is certainly as great on the part of jurors as it can be anywhere, it has always been found that the proportion of convictions to commitments *rises* as that of executions to convictions falls. The fewer executions there are, and the greater the number of commutations, the more ready are jurors to convict. In a speech in the house of commons of the 5th of March, 1840, Mr. Ewart showed that while for twenty-one years before 1830, in England and Wales, the annual number of executions had been 38, the proportion of convictions to commitments had been 18 per cent.—in the eight years, ending with 1838, the annual number of executions being only 7, the proportion of convictions to commitments had risen to 32 per cent. The rise would of course be greater if the death-penalty were entirely abolished.

* It was stated by Mr. Fitzroy Kelley, on the floor of parliament, that upward of *forty* such cases were known in English jurisprudence, within the present century. Similar cases are to be heard of frequently also in our own country.

AN ADDRESS

From Unitarian Ministers of Great Britain and Ireland, to their Ministerial Brethren of the Unitarian Churches in the United States of North America.

[HEBREWS x. 24.]

Reverend and Dear Brethren:—We, the undersigned ministers of Great Britain and Ireland, uniting in the belief and worship of the Father, as the one, only, and true God,—in the name of the one Lord Jesus Christ,—desire to convey to you the expression of our brotherly regard, and of our earnest sympathy in your spiritual labors, as workmen in the vineyard of the gospel, and gifted teachers of the truth as it is in Jesus.

We have hailed from time to time the tidings of your steadfastness amidst many perils, and of your progress in the face of many difficulties. From the works which you have given to the world, often we have derived the highest benefit, and the purest light. Your names are in all our churches; and it is our joy to feel that we are united in sentiment, and are soldiers together of Christ, in the great contest which is waging between light and darkness, truth and error, good and evil, throughout the nominally civilized and Christian world. In particular, we devotedly thank the Father of lights, and Giver of every good, for the benefit derived to so wide a portion of mankind,—and the comfort, support, and example, afforded to ourselves,—from the intellectual glory, the Christian devotedness, and the untiring and consistent zeal, manifested in the pure life and transcendent writings of your and our departed brother,—the ever to be remembered and revered WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING; in union with whose name, our grateful but mournful recollection would recall that of his meek-hearted but heroic fellow laborer, CHARLES FOLLEN.

Believing that the testimony of these great and good men was designed by a merciful God, to operate on our own hearts, and stimulate us to a like course of holy doing,—we pray of you, Christian brethren, to pardon us in suggesting that, under God and the Lord Jesus, to you next we turn, in hope that the exalting influences begun or fostered by them, may be carried to their glorious consummation; and that for your honor, for our joy, and for their dear memory's sake, the voice they lifted, especially in behalf of the unhappy slave, may not be suffered to pass away without a due response from your lips, and the unshrinking and devoted support of your Christian and ministerial energies.

We will not suppose, Christian brethren, that you, any more than we, can have any doubts as to the deep wrong of MAN, HOLDING MAN AS A SLAVE. We assure ourselves of your concurrence and sympathy, when we utterly deny that any human being has, or ever can have, a right to make another his CHATTEL. And believing that no example, no prescription, or time, or place, can warrant it,—we anticipate the cordial coincidence of your desire with ours, that, on that pure form of truth—to us so precious in our common UNITARIANISM,—no such stain should rest, as the extending of any countenance to so foul and fearful an institution as that of SLAVERY.

Nevertheless, brethren, we are not unaware, in our own experience of great social and public questions, how easily the mind may be reconciled to *inaction*, where inconvenience or sacrifice,—so apt to inspire an unwise distrust in our means of good,—may happen to lie in the way of more active and immediate endeavors to give effect to our inward convictions. As professors, ourselves, of a form of faith everywhere spoken against,—and especially in a country where institutions, political, as well as religious, so formidably aggravate the evil,—we can witness to the difficulty of bearing our testimony to unpopular truth. Though tolerated, we are *stigmatized* by the State. And while sharing with others in the odium of DISSENT,—have, through this unfriendly learning of the law, to incur the added evil of being singled out as objects of denunciation for HERESY. But we have no choice. If we would be imitators of our Master, we must be faithful; and, to be worthy of him, must cheerfully bear our cross, and endure our reproach.

Circumstanced thus, may we not, in reference to the position you occupy on a question so bound up with the honor of our faith, and the welfare and hopes of an extended portion of the family of man, be the more freely allowed to give utterance to our wish that, our brethren in America, should be seen to stand out amongst those,—yea, be foremost and first of those,—who raise their solemn PROTEST against SLAVERY,—as a crime against our common human nature!

We wish you to be assured, dear brethren, that while we know, or can readily conceive, the practical difficulties thrown around the question,—it were to us inestimable evidence of the energy and worth of our faith, and a title in them to our increased affection and esteem, could we behold our fellow-ministers in America, eager to embrace, and diligent in devising, *the means of overcoming those difficulties,—and sedulous in subduing the prejudices by which they are multiplied and strengthened.*

We do not presume to point out the particular modes in which such action can best be brought to bear on the awful evil against which we are prompted, by this humble attempt to strengthen your hearts and hands; but we cannot doubt that so enlightened, respected, and pious a body as the Unitarian ministers of the United States, must exercise an influence of no unimportant amount in any question affecting the social and moral condition of the community in which they live. We rejoice, indeed, in the growing demonstrations that among minds of a high order in your country, the means begin to suggest themselves whereby a more determined and effective expression may be given to their best aspirations and convictions, in regard to slavery. And while, in the general tone of a recent article in one of your leading periodicals,—"The Boston Christian Examiner," in its number for July of this year,—we hail an omen of auspicious promise, we cannot too warmly acknowledge the satisfaction and delight afforded us from the hope held out in the following passage in particular, at page 280:

"Our ecclesiastical bodies," it is there said, "are more or less intimately connected with the southern church; and *their unanimous, decided, and strong sentiment*, will soon find a response from every devout and intelligent Christian at the South, and will awake to sincere penitence, and a better mind those portions of the southern church, which have entered into willing compact with this iniquity."

To the weight of these words, we feel that we can have but little to add. Only we would say,—may the wisdom and spirit which are from above, enable you to resolve on, and quicken you to perform, the holy work to which you are called! By the love of our dear Redeemer, by the bonds of our common faith, by the memory of the great and good, whose thrilling tones in behalf of their oppressed brother, have come to us from your shores, as a voice from heaven,—we pray you be not slack or timid in aiding or urging "to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." Let not the foulest of wrongs lift its head unrebuked in the presence of the holiest of truth. Assist us in vindicating for UNITARIANISM her just position among the beneficent agencies in the world. Let it be seen that the faith of ONE GOD, the Father of ALL,—has power to unite us in unswerving efforts for the good of his children of every condition and hue. And, while praying for its efficacy on ourselves, enable us to point to those who maintain it among you, as conspicuous fellow-laborers, and helpers in accomplishing that great work in the bosom of their own nation,—of striking the chains from their fellow-man, and thereby of freeing their country from an odium, Christianity from a stain, and the world from a plague, which now so heavily and deeply lie upon them.

"THE NIGHT COMETH WHEN NO MAN CAN WORK." The warning contained in these words,—at all times how solemn!—how peculiarly impressive at this!—Even now, while we are yet speaking, the tidings have fallen on us of other departures of the excellent from among you;—and the loss, almost simultaneous—(within one short year since we had to mourn for a CHANNING,) of a GREENWOOD, and a WARE, would seem to have come,—as if in appropriate but afflicting admonition of the lesson of our mortality.

Brethren! "our hearts are enlarged unto you;" and in very love we pray, may the spirit of the Lord Jesus be with you, and in you; and may it give you good consolation, and abundant understanding in this and all things.

We remain, reverend and dear brethren, your faithful well-wishers, and humble fellow-laborers in the gospel.

December 1st, 1843.

[Signed by ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIVE Unitarian ministers in Great Britain and Ireland.]

From the Liberator.

THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

I should not again have trespassed upon the patience of your readers with a word upon the Hundred Conventions, had you not requested it, and had I not found that there is a desire among many of our friends to have more concerning them; and even now I do it with hesitation, though backed by such authority, lest some who do not look upon the enterprise as those do and must who were most intimately concerned in it, should deem that something more of individual feeling and interest is displayed than is in fact the case, and so an imputation get fastened upon the work itself, which, were it well-founded, would belong only to the workers. But not to trouble myself with surmises which may be groundless, I will confide again in the charity and good faith which abolitionists generally extend to their co-laborers, the servants of the slave.

Indeed, as I call to mind all that has been written on the subject, there appears to me to have been, except where it was absolutely necessary, but little personality. If the stirring eloquence of some of the agents has sometimes made an impression on the western people which will not easily be effaced, and has given a character to eastern anti-slavery which has never before been recognized by them, the fact has been but barely referred to, seldom even that. If sickness has prostrated us, it has been mentioned, if mentioned at all, only in excuse for absence from the post of duty. If, in the murderous mobs that have assailed us, it has been told how Douglass was taken up for dead, and others were cruelly beaten and abused, it has been to show the character of the people among whom we were, and that the burden is not an easy one which Indiana abolitionists, at least, are obliged to bear. Of personal peril and adventure, of personal risk and suffering, of toil that had no reward but in the sense of committed duty; of unmitigated anxiety and apprehension, that made us, we trust, not the less courageous or the less firm; of that strange feeling of loneliness that came over us sometimes, which, to understand, one must be environed with circumstances like ours on such a mission, with the murderous spirit of pro-slavery raging around them, and few or no friends to whom to look for sympathy, advice, or countenance; of all this, little or nothing has been said. And of the many countervailing circumstances which have sustained us, and cheered us on; of the many friends we have met, warm, true-hearted friends, "whose latch-strings are never pulled in," and whose welcome is ever ready for the stranger, whether he be from North or South; and whose means—if the stranger be a southern one—are always at hand to give succor and sustenance to those who, under the shadow of the blessed darkness alone can escape from the cruel system which stretches its long arm over our whole land, and clutches everywhere its prey; of the cheering signs of the times, of the noble and manly attributes of the people, bidding us work and hope, and insuring a glorious and full harvest for the way-side seed we scattered; neither of these things have we often spoken, perhaps not so often as we ought, when at all, only to convey a correct impression of the work we had to do, and how it was done, and to cheer our friends at home with the knowledge of how much there was to sustain us in our labors.

In all that has been said, our anti-slavery mission has been kept prominently in view, as to it all our efforts and energies have been directed. In our route from Boston to the centre of Indiana, and thence through southern Ohio, and along the southern border and through the centre of Pennsylvania to Philadelphia—a journey for each party of probably not less than 3000 miles—we have kept our eyes as steadily fixed upon the object of our mission as the fugitive fixes his upon the North star. We did not linger for a moment in the beautiful valley of the Mohawk; and Niagara, even, did not detain us an hour from our next appointment. Over the fertile plains of Ohio, we hastened from place to place, and through its own and the majestic forests of Indiana, scarcely pausing to admire the luxuriant vegetation of the one, or the rich dark foliage, and the magnificent Gothic arches of the other. We did not indeed pass unheeding by all the beauty and the grandeur which nature had spread so lavishly everywhere in our path; but the hideous contrast in the world which man had created had called us from our homes, and to the creation of a better harmony, we had pledged our efforts. Had our tour been one of observation and of pleasure only, or had we thought it worth our while to present the pleasant aspect which it often bore, and even the not unfrequent aspect of the opposite kind, disconnected from its anti-slavery character, many columns of your paper might have been filled with what seemed noteworthy depicting a state of society differing very much from our own of New-England, and which would have a certain sort of interest to New-England people. Much could be said of various places which lie in our way on our busy journey, which men go thousands of miles to see, which we saw with none the less interest because hot haste trod upon our heels, and whispered of the next appointment; many a moving incident and adventure could be given of drives through pelting rains, in such roads as Indiana only knows, and curious accidents which nowhere else could happen;—of rides by moonlight in those grand old forests;—of drives again by night in darkness that seemed palpable, or only "made visible" by the lighted splinters of our guides;—of passages across some bubbling brook;—of men, women, and children, behind the horsemen who, waiting for us, emerged from the darkness beyond, and splashed to and fro across to the little English-looking stone chapel underneath the hill-side opposite, to hold an anti-slavery meeting;—of Oakland, and other similar gatherings;—of log-house scenes, where all fell down to sleep, where bed-time found them, like tired soldiers;—sometimes of the welcome night's rest on heaps of straw—the fleas not counted—in long wagons;—of passages on *la belle riviere*—as the French call it—the beautiful Ohio, with the slave-land of Virginia and Kentucky on our right, and slaves appearing at the towns where we stopped, and some on board as passengers, their presence was endured in both cabins with admirable complacency and patience by the assembled Christians and republicans, because they were there as slaves, and not as free blacks; of the glorious ride of three of us on horseback over the Alleghanies, meeting, as we ascended, stern Winter coming down from his mountain fastness, with sleet, and frost, and snow, in his train, to invade the plains; and of the many pleasant villages seeming to have nestled there, in those lovely valleys, out of sight and sound of the great world beyond.

A tour to the West, under any circumstances, could hardly fail to be one of great interest; but in such a one as ours, everything combined to make it so. We avoided, generally, great public thoroughfares, and public conveyances, and public houses, and traveled in by-ways, across-roads, and visited and stayed in little out-of-the-way villages and country neighborhoods, away from the artificial society of large towns, and came in contact with the people themselves, in little country churches and school-houses, and sat at their own firesides, in their farm-houses and log-cabins. We went as inmates into the bosoms of families, and so met the men and manners, the customs and peculiarities, face to face. We were admitted to the household secrets of western life, and penetrated to the arcana of the temple where common tourists do not go. The "Hundred Conventions" has its poetical character, as well as its anti-slavery and mobocratic; but we have not dwelt on it, and we do not mean to do so now, for it is not that view, perhaps, which could be most interesting to your readers, or with which, at all events, your columns should be filled.

My view may be, and probably is, a partial one; but it seems to me that no practical enterprise, since the anti-slavery cause was commenced, has been equal in importance to this. Had a similar one been carried on under the auspices of the board of missions of any sectarian body, or of either of the political parties, to advocate their peculiar tenets and dogmas, and spread a knowledge of them among the people, it would have been looked upon as an era in the history of that class, and lauded by them, as worthy of distinction in its inception, and the mere fact of its execution. A convention of persons, all of whom are poor, almost without exception, in this world's goods, sent out half a dozen missionaries to plead, in a distant part of the country, the cause of those who can speak no word in their behalf, and whose "dumb, inarticulate cry" has been these many cenuries unheard. You, sir, first heard that cry, and spoke, but a few years ago, a word of comfort to that people, and told the nation its great sin. The few who rallied at first around you, bore up against the pro-slavery influence which would crush them to the earth, till at length, in many localities, a little knot of abolitionists could be found fighting in their isolated positions, with no weapons but truth and a good conscience, each in his little world. Tried friends have abandoned us, lives have been sacrificed on the bloody altar of American slavery, houses have been sacked and burned, printing presses have been destroyed, rewards offered for men's heads, loss of reputation has been cheerfully met, every species of wrong and obloquy has been suffered; and through all, anti-slavery has lived, and the ears of the people now everywhere tingle to hear upon the subject. The time had come for an enterprise like this, and men must be sent out, leaving the comparatively small neighborhood in which they had hitherto labored, and preach to the nation. Thousands of miles have been traversed, thousands of people have been addressed in more than a hundred conventions, for many single lectures have been given. The voice of anti-slavery has been heard, in one connected series of meetings, all along from the coast of New England to the centre of Indiana, and back again to the Atlantic coast of the middle States, and all along the border of the slave-land itself of Kentucky and Virginia, Maryland and Delaware, and where we could see "the blue smoke as it curled upward from the humble cabin of the slave," and could count the ancestral trees around the mansions of the lordly masters. The word has been spoken in the church, and the schoolhouse, and the hall, in groves, and rough temporary edifices, erected to accommodate the thousands who flocked to hear in the carpenter's shop, and the currier's loft, on the steps of at least one State-house, and in more than one market-place. Neither priest, nor politician, nor mobocrat, could keep the people back. There is to me a sublimity in the necessity of such an enterprise; and were it only a sign of progress—a landmark to show how high the anti-slavery sentiment has reached—it were valuable. But it is not valuable for this alone, nor chiefly. The truth has been told, as I have just said, to many thousands of people, and to many who had never before listened to it. As yet, the result of our labors is hardly apparent, and yet enough is so to assure us that great good has been done. The great principles of anti-slavery have become known, where before they were unknown; have become understood, where before they were misunderstood. The old organized anti-slavery of Massachusetts has, I believe, been faithfully preached, and met with a response of which the most sanguine friends of the enterprise could never have dreamed. In the strong excitement which we have often witnessed, in the renewed zeal of friends whose spirits had begun to flag, but who were awakened to fresh effort by this message from a distant State, in the ardor of new-made converts, in the deep indignation of men who have seen for the first time how they have been cheated and betrayed by designing priests and politicians; and above all, in the strong sympathy awakened for the condition of the slave, we have seen often before we left a place of meeting, the first fruits of the Hundred Conventions. But these are only the first fruits; the full ripe harvest is yet to come.

It would not be worth while, even had I time, to enter upon a detailed account of each of the conventions held, and every lecture given. This has been already done, to some extent, in the letters written at the time. In New-York, we encountered among liberty party men, something of the jealousy and hatred of new organization for the American Society, urged on by the lying defamations of the Emancipator and Liberty Press. But we left it all behind us when we crossed the Ohio line, nor did we encounter it again, to any extent worth mentioning, during the rest of our journey. The series of conventions through Ohio, both going out and returning, was a triumph for anti-slavery. The meetings were enthusiastic, and most numerously attended, the friends coming sometimes fifty miles to be present. We were cordially met and acted with, both by the body and the leaders of liberty party in that State, which differs from the party here both in the greater necessity of its existence,—from the fact that their officers are chosen by a plurality of votes, and in its inception with the great majority of them, having arisen, not as with us, from a desire to hide the sins of their church, and in principles essentially pro-slavery and sectarian, but from a sincere desire to carry their anti-slavery principles to the polls. Society has not become petrified after any peculiar fashion in the West, and the people, therefore, are not bound in the bonds of sect and party, as we are here in the older States. There is much more of freedom, and much less of political or priestly influence exercised or permitted. Ohio, therefore, advanced as she already is, will be, I doubt not, the banner State in anti-slavery, and her influence over her neighbor sister of Kentucky, will abolish slavery there at no distant day. Indiana is behind her in many respects; in the social and moral character of her people,—being in some places not more than half civilized,—therefore, as an anti-slavery State. She is now the mob State, and give over, body and soul, bound hand and foot, to the slaveholding power and influence, more than any other

a protection against an expected mob. Yet exceptions should be made, as, in some places, the anti-slavery sentiment is prevalent and dominant. At Camden, and at Cherry Grove, and Jonesboro', we held most excellent meetings; and at Milan, where we held our last convention in that State, we had one of the best meetings on the whole route. We were but a dozen miles,—the nearest point we had then approached,—from Kentucky. The people there are generally Methodists, such Methodists as there were in the time of John Wesley. They are also, as they are everywhere in the West, where they deserve the name of abolitionists, of liberty party; but we preached to them in the plainest manner of the guilt of the Church, and it was responded to with loud amens. They only want more light to lead them to repudiate the Church, as they have already their political parties.

Owing to the lateness of the season, and the whole series of conventions being nearly finished, requiring only enough to fill up the time till the decennial meeting, but few meetings were held in Pennsylvania. Some of them were held in sight of Maryland, and there, as might be expected, was shown something of the spirit of lynch law. In one place, Murtick township, where I happened to be without my companions, I was mobbed, and was followed a mile home, by a troop of men and boys, thirty or forty in number, who used every effort, by long poles and otherwise, to make my horse throw me. I was not a little annoyed by the company, to which I was involuntary made captain. At the next place we were mobbed by *one Quaker*, who held on to the door of the meeting-house, into which we had permission to enter by the Society, because he said his grandfather once owned the land, and the house on it should not be desecrated by a *nigger* meeting. He was true to his Quakerism, at least in one thing—the deeds of his grandfather were all the religion he had. He carried the day, however, and a volley of small arms, consisting of three muskets, was fired in honor of the Quaker victory. We adjourned to a building near by, and I could not but admire the old man's tenacity. He had no key to lock us out, and, fearful of our return, he staid all the day long at the door; and if any one approached, took the handle in his hand, ready to go to the death for the land his grandfather once owned. Our best meeting in Pennsylvania, was at Kennett Square, where we had a large and cheering one. But in every place we visited, we found some anti-slavery of the genuine stamp. S. H. GAY.

From the Pennsylvania freeman.

NORTH CAROLINA FRIENDS.

The following precious specimen of that kind of anti-slavery, which in these days so often appears in the plain garb of Quakerism—a garb no more befitting it, than would George Fox's leather breeches the limbs of a Chesnut street dandy, or his simple, friendly dialect, the lips of a Washington city slave-dealer,—was sent me some time ago, by a friend who copied it from Niles' Register, number 14, volume 15, published at Baltimore, last Twelfth-month. It is an "Extract from the minutes of the North Carolina Yearly meeting of Friends, held at New Camden, Guilford county, from the 6th to the 10th of Eleventh month, 1843, and signed on behalf of the same, by Aaron Stalker, clerk of the meeting." If the members of the Society of Friends in this region can read it without a blush of shame for the meeting it came from, and an instinctive impulse to cry out against it, disowning it with emphatic earnestness, as no product of true Quaker feeling; if they do not feel, that regarded as the work of such a body, it is a foul disgrace to the very name of Quakerism, let them never again utter the idle boast—the worse than mockery—that they already belong to an anti-slavery society, by virtue of their membership of the Society of Friends. *Such an anti-slavery* society as would endorse this document, or even listen to it without abhorrence, the very demon of despotism himself would chuckle with delight to see. It would do more for his cause, than a whole regiment of open advocates for the divine right of brutalizing manhood, and selling it in the shambles:—than a dozen lynch courts with their mob-executive to enforce their decrees; or even than half a score of theological professors, or "reverend" pulpit desecrators, enlisted in the worthy task of making God's truth a lie, by torturing it into a sanction for slaveholding. Here is the document:

"Whereas, It is a well known testimony of the Society of Friends, that they do not allow their members to hold slaves, or in any way interfere with the system of slavery, farther than by petition, reason, and remonstrance, in a peaceable manner; and it having through report come to the knowledge of the Society, that some one or more of the members thereof have suffered themselves to be so far overcome, through sympathy, as to allow, or give shelter improperly, to one or more slaves, and thus occasioned some of their fellow-members to be accused of the like improper conduct;

We have therefore thought it due to ourselves, and to the people at large of the country in which we live, thus to make known our long-established practice and utter disapproval, of such interference in any way whatever, whilst at the same time, we do not in the least degree relinquish our testimony to the injustice of slavery."

There's a choice "testimony against slavery," for you; to "hide the outcast and bewray, not the wanderer," to "give shelter" to the victim of acknowledged injustice, while he is asserting in the most peaceable manner possible—by flight from his bitter bondage—his God-given, inalienable and admitted right to be free; to act the part of a good Samaritan toward him who is worse than stripped, wounded and dying by the wayside; to be "so far overcome through sympathy, as to" do unto another, the flying bondman, what, were his case their own, they would that he should do to them,—is, forsooth, a most grievously wide departure from the "long-established practice," and "well-known testimony of the Society of Friends," and calls forth the "utter disapproval" of a whole Yearly meeting of these professed enemies of slavery! Quakers of Pennsylvania, are you ready to unite in such a sentiment? Are you ready to denounce the deeds of some of your most excellent and worthy predecessors, and of many of the best men in your connection now, as contrary to the spirit of your religion, as violations of your discipline, or as deserving your rebukes? Shame on you if you are! Shame on you, as recreant sons of noble sires; no longer worthy to bear the name which a valiant band of true reformers made honorable by their manly resistance to tyrant power, and their fearless assertion of man's right to be free from every chain, whether of physical or spiritual oppression.

This "utter disapproval" of deeds which ought to be cheered with warmest praise, is of itself bad enough; but contrasted with the pretense to hold fast a pure "testimony to the injustice of slavery," it reveals either a base hypocrisy, or a cringing cowardice, from which every brave and honest soul must turn away with unspeakable disgust. Slavery unjust, yet it is wrong to "shelter" its victim from the injustice it inflicts, or aid his escape from the oppressor who inflicts it! An enemy of slavery refusing to "interfere in any way whatever," to aid the slave's escape, or to save him from the terrible consequences of recapture; yet avowing all the while his determination not to "relinquish in the least degree" his opposition to the oppressive system? Deliver us from *such* anti-slavery, and the slave from *such* friends!

IRELAND, O'CONNELL, AND REPEAL.

The following is an extract from a letter received by the Britannia, from an intelligent American now residing in Dublin:

"Men are arranging themselves into two great parties. I call them the Brute-force party, and the Moral suasion party; the military and the moral. These two powers have fairly met in conflict in Ireland. It is fearful and withal amusing, to see how the contest is managed. The Brute-force, the blood and murder party, strut about in cockades, feathers and epaulettes; guns on their shoulders, and daggers by their sides, to cut the throats and blow out the brains of——whom? Of those who are unarmed, defenseless, and inoffensive, good natured and laughing; for it is true that these redcoat gentry are a perfect laughing stock and a byeword among their opponents. Every one seems to feel perfectly secure against their wrath so long as the people rest solely on their moral position. O'Connell has to a great extent convinced the Irish that their only hope is in the non-enforcing principle and practice. It is most instructive to be here on the spot, and witness the progress of events. O'Connell is the 'observed of all observers.' All eyes as far as Ireland is concerned, are turned upon him. He is in Ireland just now, and in both Ireland and England, is thought, talked and felt about more than any other person in the kingdom, not excepting the queen; and justly so, for his position as a leader in this world's great experiment as to effecting political and national revolutions without violence. No monarch or statesman stands in a position more truly sublime than Daniel O'Connell. God give the victory to repeal, and He certainly will, if the repealers are true to the no-violence policy.

'No social or political revolution can be worth a drop of human blood,' may yet become the rule for the world. It will, for it is right."

Communications.

PROGRESS—PURITY!

The sayings and doings of the two great slavery parties, are by those interested, duly chronicled. It is not fit and proper that the immaculate Liberty party should, in *its* "sayings and doings," be also heralded? Most certainly, methinks I hear you say, especially so far as it relates to the workings of its caucus system; that system which William Goodell's masterly pen so vividly portrayed, previous to the organization of the pary; that system which he viewed with utter loathing and detestation.

The hum of busy preparation already resounds; the war cry of *the party*, again salutes the ear; and "to the conflict," every good man and true, is imperatively urged.

A week ago last evening, (January 31st,) the first grand caucus for the year was opened. Some forty persons were present. After some interlocutory conversation, they went into the nomination of candidates for city offices. The office of mayor was, *apparently*, satisfactorily disposed of. The inquiry was then instituted, "Who was nominated last year?" After ascertaining, as far as practicable, one proposed, "in order to save time!" that the old list of candidates should be re-nominated. This was opposed by a recent convert, who did not fancy the idea of a "stereotype edition;" "rotation in office, was the true democratic doctrine;" let a fair distribution be made of the "honors and the burdens;" a monopoly of them was not to be allowed, or endured. Rotation in office at once became the order of the evening.

They proceeded with the nominations, with pretty general satisfaction, until probably one half the list was made out; the caucus was then adjourned to meet again last evening, February 7th, at which time the second grand caucus was held. About the same number of persons were present; and this evening we had a beautiful exhibition of the purity of liberty partyism. A gentleman, a member of the executive committee of the Liberty party State society, who yet holds his relation to a pro-slavery ecclesiastical organization, was proposed as a candidate for alderman. To this there were objections raised by a Rev. gentleman present, and also by the recent convert, alluded to above. The former charged the nominee with recreancy to principle; that he sustained a pro-slavery organization; and that he had abandoned an anti-slavery one, which he had pledged himself to support. Many thought the reverend gentleman's argument would have had more weight, if less personal feeling had been exhibited.

The recent convert, it appears, had no personal feelings to gratify, but it was on the ground of consistency alone that he objected; and he had the temerity to enforce the arguments of the old American Anti-Slavery Society: "Come out from among them," "let religion and politics both be pure, but *especially purify your Christianity*." The defense was led off by an old agent of the same society, of which the nominee was an officer. By the way, that same agent has for years been the main stay of that society. He most *consistently* contended that it was not necessary to withdraw from such ecclesiastical organizations. In proof, he cited the example of those efficient advocates of emancipation, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others, who retained the relation to the then existing organizations. He denounced the requisition to "withdraw" as proscriptive, &c; lauded the nominee as one of the most active, zealous, and conscientious of abolitionists. But the impassioned eloquence of the gentleman availed not. The majority decided against the nomination for alderman. But it could not have been from any scruples on account of his pro-slavery relation; no, no; for be it known they had already nominated him for "school commissioner." Now, if the arguments which were adduced by those who objected had had any weight at all, they would have been equally powerful against the nomination of the gentleman to any office. Comment is unnecessary.

Upon the caucus deciding against the nomination, the agent, and other gentlemen in high dudgeon, withdrew. The business, however, proceeded; but its interest lessened as the nominations increased. One by one, they dropt off, until only eighteen or twenty were left. Then a move was made worthy of the caucus system, and perfectly in character with party management and intrigue. An old political hack, who has always been in the market, coveted, it appears, a higher nomination than he had received for a number of years past. Nothing short of the mayoralty would satisfy his voracious maw. But how to dispose of the excellent nominee to that office, was the question. How do you think it was done? Why sir, it was placed on the ground that the *good* of the party required it. "If he (the nominee) would withdraw his name, so that the *popular* candidate could come before the people, there was a prospect of his being elected," whew! whew! whew!! Why, it is hardly among the possibilities, that either of them can secure two hundred votes in the city. And the worthy citizen, and thorough-going consistent abolitionist, who was first nominated, will lead his popular friend from one to two dozen votes. This every person present must have known; but it was a caucus bantling, and a reason must be given. The withdrawal was obtained, and the *popular* candidate, of the fifteen votes, received *ten!* and was declared *duly nominated*. Who's not in favor of king caucus, and a political party?

Utica, Feb. 8, 1844

THE WHIGGERY OF THE STANDARD.—No. 1.

The congressional reports published in the Standard, appear to be prepared with the express view of electioneering for the whig party. The paper of January 25, noticing Joseph R. Ingersoll's statement, that the legislation of the country on the subject of postage, was behind the age, asks, blandly, if it has not occurred to Mr. Ingersoll that we are behind the age in another much more important particular? and adds, "We have reason to fear that he does *not yet* realize it." What a gentle reproof for Mr. Ingersoll's pro-slavery votes, speeches, and writings! What a soothing intimation to abolitionists that Mr. Ingersoll, being a good whig, will soon be right on the question of slavery, although, perchance, he has "*not yet*" become so. What democrat can receive such treatment at the hands of the Standard? How different from that afforded to John McKeon, in the bitter revilings of him for sins of which he was not guilty!

The same paper says: "Mr. Stewart, of Pennsylvania, made an *admirable* speech." It then quotes the pith of this *admirable* speech—admirable like that of Ogle, the predecessor of Stewart, for its gross falsehoods—and coolly remarks, that it "was little relished by the democrats." If so, it of course would be highly relished by the caterers for the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Standard quotes Stewart's charge that the democrats who support the improvement of the navigation of the western rivers, are inconsistent in supporting Van Buren; and also his charge that the democratic administration was far more extravagant than the present one. But it does not copy Mr. Weller's specifications of the falsehoods told by Stewart, nor his proof that they were falsehoods. Nor does it state, what is the real truth, that the expenses of the democratic administration were sustained by the votes of the whig party, and would have been much greater if the whigs could have gotten enough democrats to unite with them in all their schemes of extravagance. It does not state the fact, that the reduction of expense has been principally caused by the cessation of the Florida war; that it was partly caused by reductions made by the democrats; that the whigs opposed retrenchment at the first session of Congress after they came into power, but after they quarreled with Tyler, a portion of them joined the democrats in effecting it; nor does it state the fact, that the expenses are now nine millions a year more than what the whigs alledged they ought to be, in the hard cider campaign.

The Standard may intimate what it will, by garbled sketches of congressional debates, it will still remain a fact, that cannot be controverted by evidence, that in the national government, and in that of every State of the Union, from the formation of our constitutions to the present day, the democratic party has supported comparative moderation, and the federal and whig party comparative profusion in salaries and expenditures. This has not only been the characteristic difference in their votes, but in all private circles it is now found, as it ever has been, to be one of the characteristic differences in their opinions.

The same paper next puffs J. R. Ingersoll as speaking "with his usual ability and eloquence," a commendation such as it does not bestow on democrats who are his decided superiors.

The same paper says that Stewart, in replying to Weller, said that he had loaded him with billingsgate, but had not refuted one of his *arguments*. This, I believe, does not accord with the report of either the Globe or the Intelligencer. In fact, Weller did not attempt to refute any argument of Stewart's, if he made any, but to show that Stewart had been guilty of divers false statements, in a speech made, not to convince members of Congress how they ought to vote, but to influence the people in the approaching elections.

The Standard of February 1, copies from the United States Gazette, a bitter whig print, a story of a colored man at the capitol, who was required to give up his place to "*a locofoco*," and take charge of another department. It adds, that the colored man refused, saying, "I came in with gentlemen, and I wish to go out with gentlemen."

The conductor of the Standard may labor in this way to convince its readers of the justice of the claim of the whig party to "all the decency," but some may still not be satisfied of the fact. Some may still think that hard cider carousals, and coon-skin exhibitions, do not establish an exclusive claim to gentility. Some may think that the systematic propagation of falsehoods, like those of the gold spoons, the French bedsteads, and the English carriage, is not excessively genteel. Some may think it not the height of refinement to have a candidate for the presidency who assures the abolitionists at Cincinnati that he is with them, and at the same time writes letters to the South of an opposite character, with a request not to publish them. Some may think it not excessively genteel to advocate the election of Harrison and Tyler, by assurances that they would not charter a bank, and to alledge, after the election, that they came into office under a pledge to charter one; nor more genteel for the whigs, at the present moment, to attempt, as they do, to convince democrats that there will be no bank, if Clay is chosen, while to an advocate of a bank, they will assert the contrary.

By the way, I am told that the colored man alluded to, was, for *peculiar* reasons, a protege of Henry Clay, and that he had amassed some twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, by the post that he had held. It was therefore deemed fair that another should take a turn in it.

I will only add, that some may not deem it over honest, whether genteel or not, for the whigs to come into power under a cry against proscriptions in office for opinion's sake, and then to make more removals for opinion's sake, in six months, than had ever before been made in six years; nor do I think that the articles in the Standard to which I have adverted, present sufficient reasons to induce rational abolitionists to vote for Henry Clay, or other canddiates of the whig party who are not unequivocally for abolition. E.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1844.

☞ Those subscribers who are in arrears, will please forward the amount due as soon as convenient.

ANTI-SLAVERY MELODIES;

Prepared for the Hingham Anti-Slavery Society, by JAIRUS LINCOLN.

It is refreshing to turn from the heat, the dust, and din of a great thoroughfare, into a quiet nook, and there, by shady precipice and gurgling stream, to listen to the sweet carol of the birds. A similar refreshment of the spirit is demanded by the grave and harsh exigencies of the journey of reform. We rejoiced at the introduction by the Hutchinsons, of their delightful songs into our meetings. We felt grateful to Mrs. Chapman and Mr. Collins for the Songs for the Free, and the Anti-Slavery Picknick; and if we had them now before us, we should endeavor to do better justice to their merits, and to our sentiments, than drily to mention the editors' names, and the simple titles.

Mr. Lincoln's work is partly selected, and partly original, both as to music and poetry. It is already in extensive use, and has obtained a popularity which we hope will encourage the true-hearted and judicious editor to enlarge and improve it.

The words of the first and four other pieces in the collection, are from Pierpont, most of them already well known. Mr. Pierpont never writes without point and polish. The hymn beginning,

"With thy sweet dews and rains,"

is, as a whole, very admirable; but there are two verses, against which our sense of justice always rises in arms. They are the second and third:

Wash out, O God, the stains
From *Afric's* shore.

The stains, or at any rate, the deepest and deadliest stains, are not there. They are on *Christian* shores, as is finely expressed in the last stanza:

Hear'st thou, O God, those chains
That clank on freedom's plains,
By Christians wrought;
Those who those chains have worn,
Christians have hither borne,
Christians have bought.

This objection would be scarcely worth stating, if it were not liable to be construed by certain enemies and persecutors of the colored race, and who are worse than other enemies of that race, because they come in the disguise of friends. Their favorite cant is, "Africa's guilty strand," and they argue that *there* the guilt must be washed away. Shenstone and Pope laid the guilt at the right doors, and we would not that Pierpont should *seem*, for a moment, to countenance the hypocrites who are trying to shuffle it off.

The following is a stanza of Mr. Pierpont's original contribution to the melodies:

I would not live always, I ask not to stay,
Where I must bear the burden and heat of the day;
Where my body is cut with the lash or the cord,
And a hovel and hunger are all my reward.

We have a hymn and ode of Whittier, both from his early productions. Spirited, and good, as all his poetry is; his later effusions are far the best. They excel in ease and grace, as well as strength. We used to think that Whittier's poetry had a stiff and iron-like cast, nor have we entirely changed that opinion. Most of it is not what we call *fleecy*. But he has improved wonderfully since he wrote his most popular anti-slavery pieces.

Five of Mr. Garrison's hymns and songs, all well known, are included in the collection. They derive their interest from their correctness, and depth of sentiment, more than from poetic imagery and illustration. They are so replete with thought, so direct in expression, and *do such execution*, that they will always be popular, till slavery is abolished. The following invocation is characteristic:

Help us every chain to sever,
Every captive to set free;
And our guilty land deliver
From the curse of slavery.

The following Ode for the 1st of August, is excellent:

Lo! the bondage of ages has ceased,
The chains of the tyrant are riven;
No more as a chattel or beast,
Shall man to his labor be driven.
Where the groans and the shrieks of despair,
From heart-broken victims were heard,
Songs of rapturous joy fill the air,
More sweet than the notes of the bird.
Lo! the gloom and the blackness of night,
Have suddenly vanished away,
And all things rejoice in the light
Of Freedom's meridian day.
Restored to their sight are the blind,
No longer they grope for the wall;
All who seek may with certainty find,
For clear is the vision of all.
Hark! a voice from the isles of the sea,
Its echoes are heard round the world,
O, joyful its message, 'We're free.'
To the dust oppression is hurled.
We are free as the waves of the deep,
As the winds that sweep over the earth;
And therefore we jubilee keep,
And hallow the day of our birth.'
Columbia! O, shame on thee now,
Repent thee in ashes and dust;
There is blood on thy hands and thy brow,
And thou art by slavery cursed.
Thy millions of vassals set free,
Away with the scourge and the rod,
Then join with the isles of the sea,
In a chant of thanksgiving to God.

We are glad to meet here Mrs. Sigourney's charming and unrivalled little anti-slavery hymn, beginning,

God gave to Afric's sons
A brow of sable die;

and ending,

But by the color of the soul,
We must be judged at last.

We need neither quote, nor commend, Montgomery's

Blow ye the trumpet abroad o'er the sea;

but we cannot omit the appropriate and beautiful hymn which follows:

Daughter of sadness, from the dust
Exalt thy fallen head,
In thy Redeemer firmly trust—
He calls thee from the dead.

Awake, awake! put on thy strength,
Thy beautiful array,
The day of freedom dawns at length,
The Lord's appointed day.

Rebuild thy walls, thy bounds enlarge,
And send thy heralds forth;
Say to the South, 'Give up thy charge,
'And keep not back, O North.'

The following cheerful and hopeful strain is from Mary Jackman, one not before known to us in the ranks of anti-slavery or poetry. It is almost a gem:

See yon glorious star ascending,
Brightly o'er the southern sea,
Truth and peace to earth portending,
Herald of a jubilee.

Dim at first, but widely spreading,
Soon 'twill burst supremely bright,
Life, and health, and comfort shedding,
O'er the shades of moral night.

Few its rays—'tis but the dawning
Of the reign of truth and peace,
Joy to slaves, yet sad forewarning,
To the tyrants of our race.

Earth is brightened by the glory
Of its mild and peaceful rays;
Ransomed slaves shall tell the story,
See its light, and sing its praise.

Of two of the longer pieces, the words are by Mary L. Gardner, also heretofore a stranger to us. We copy the last stanza of her hymn for the 1st of August:

O Father, may thy word go forth,
From India to the western sea,
Till millions, now in dreadful thrall,
Shall swell the anthem of the free.
Till o'er Afric's sable race,
No more is waved oppression's rod,
And man no longer dares for gold
To sell the image of his God.

Part of this prayer is already fulfilled.

The work contains selections from Longfellow, Elizabeth Chandler, Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Follen, and Miss Martineau. There is a very good hymn from Almira Seymour, written for the melodies. We give the last stanza:

Chase from thy holy temple,
All that ensnares, deceives,
And let thy house no longer
Be as a den of thieves;
Fill it with thy own presence,
Life-giving as thou art,
Till largest love becometh
The life of every heart.

We conclude the notice of this work, which we hope to see in the hands of every sweet singer in anti-slavery Israel, with the following ode, written for the work by the late pure and noble *Henry Ware, jr.* It was the last thing he wrote, and the proof-sheets were corrected by him on that bed from which he never rose:

Oppression shall not always reign;
There comes a brighter day,
When Freedom, burst from every chain,
Shall have triumphant way.
Then Right shall over Might prevail,
And Truth, like hero armed in mail,
The hosts of tyrant wrong assail,
And hold eternal sway.

E'en now that glorious day draws near,
Its coming is not far;
In earth and heaven its signs appear,
We see its morning star;
Its dawn has flushed the Eastern sky,
The Western hills reflect it high,
The Southern clouds before it fly—
Hurra, hurra, hurra!

It flashes on the Indian isles,
So long to bondage given,
Their faded plains are decked in smiles,
Their blood-stained fetters riven.
Eight hundred thousand newly free,
Pour out their songs of jubilee,
That shake the globe from sea to sea,
As with a shout from heaven.

That shout which every bosom thrills,
Has crossed the wondering main,
It rings in thunder o'er our hills,
And rolls o'er every plain.
The waves reply on every shore,
Old Faneuil echoes to the roar,
And rocks as it ne'er rocked before,
And never rocks in vain.

What voice shall bid the progress stay,
Of truth's victorious car,
What arm arrest the growing day,
Or quench the solar star?
What dastard soul, though stout and strong,
Shall dare bring back the ancient wrong,
Or slavery's guilty night prolong,
And freedom's morning bar?

The hour of triumph comes apace,
The fated, promised hour,
When earth upon a ransomed race,
Her beauteous gifts shall shower.
Ring, Liberty, thy glorious bell,
Bid high thy sacred banner swell,
Let trump on trump the triumph tell,
Of Heaven's avenging power.

The day has come, the hour draws nigh,
We hear the coming car
Send forth the glad, exulting cry,
Hurra, hurra, hurra;
From every hill, by every sea,
In shouts proclaims the great decree,
"All chains are broke, all men are free!"
Hurra, hurra, hurra.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1844.

Mr. Giddings has opened another anti-slavery vein in these diggings. He has brought to light the fact that we are paying pensions to Indian tribes for catching and restoring runaway slaves! I was aware that there were stipulations in some of the Indian treaties by which the Indians were bound to render such service, and I felt sufficiently indignant at this prostitution of the powers of the national government; but I always supposed that the masters were left to adjust and to pay from their own pockets, the compensation to the savages for catching their miserable victims. But "we, the people," have to pay the piper! I have as yet no means of determining what is the aggregate that has been thus expended "for the general welfare," but I presume it to be many hundred thousands. You will learn from the following note, addressed to the editors of the *Intelligencer* and the *Globe*, how much the press of this District can be relied on to do justice to our character and interests, and to the faithful, fearless, and indefatigable exertions of our public servants.

HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEB. 22, 1844.

Gentlemen: While the Indian appropriation bill was under discussion yesterday, I moved to strike out the appropriation of two thousand dollars for the benefit of the Florida Indians; stating at the time, that I had no other object in making the motion than to *call the attention of the House and the country* to the fact, that this appropriation was made, at least in part, if not in whole, in consideration of the stipulations contained in the 7th article of our treaty made with those Indians on the 18th September, 1823, which is in the following words: "The chiefs and warriors aforesaid, for themselves and their tribes stipulate to be active and vigilant in preventing the retreating to, or passing through, the district of country assigned them, of any absconding slaves or fugitives from justice; and further agree to use all necessary exertions to apprehend and deliver the same to the agent, who shall receive orders to compensate them agreeably to the trouble and expense incurred."

In order that all the reporters and members should hear distinctly this stipulation, I caused it to be read by the clerk at his table. I then stated as distinctly, and as audibly as I was able, that I desired to let the country understand definitely that Congress was, year after year, appropriating the public moneys to pay for catching slaves. That we had done it for a great length of time, and were likely to continue doing so for years to come. That I denied such right explicitly, and declared it a violation of the constitutional rights of the people of the free States. I then called on gentlemen who were willing to maintain the right of Congress thus to take the public treasure, drawn from the free States, and pay it over as a compensation for catching slaves, to stand forth boldly and avow their doctrines distinctly to the people of the nation. There was some discussion on the subject in which Messrs. Dromgoole, Levy, and myself participated; but I see no report whatever of that debate in either of the papers of this city. I desire that you will not understand me as wishing, in any manner, to interfere with your duties as editors, or with those of your reporters. But I most respectfully desire to be informed whether the public are to understand that you report the debates of this House? Or are they to understand you as refusing to publish those discussions which exhibit the violations of our federal Constitution and the manner in which the rights of the people of the free States have so long been trampled upon, by taking money from their pockets and paying it out for catching slaves? Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. R. GIDDINGS.

In order that a disclosure so interesting to Northern freemen, may be spread before them in an authentic shape, I send the following report of what occurred thereupon in the House.

During the debate of Wednesday, upon the Indian appropriation bill, in committee of the whole, Mr. *Giddings* moved to strike out the item of two thousand dollars for the benefit of the Florida Indians.

Mr. Giddings remarked that he made the motion solely with a view of calling the attention of the committee and of the country to the consideration for which Congress is making this appropriation. He then called on the clerk to read the article in our treaty with those Indians by which the United States stipulated to pay this sum. That being read, he asked the clerk to read the stipulation on the part of the Indians contained in the next article. It was read in words, "quoted" in the foregoing note.

Mr. G. went on to say, that for this stipulation on the part of the Indians to catch runaway slaves, the government had, for eleven years, annually paid over these sums. The money was mostly drawn from the people of the free States, and was paid out for such purposes. He said he had no intention to occupy the time of the House. All he intended to say was, that in this way this subject of southern slavery is, year after year, forced upon the consideration of members here. In this way the government is annually interfering with slavery, *to support it*. In this way they are annually taking money from the pockets of northern laborers, and paying it over to southern Indians, to pay for catching slaves. He said this was what he complained of. He nor his people had at any time sought to interfere with the relation between master and slave at the South. It was to this whole interference that they objected. They deny the constitutional powers of this government to interfere. They request Congress to cease all interference. They regard this appropriation as a flagrant violation of Northern rights and a palpable infringement upon the Constitution.

Now, said he, gentlemen have declaimed eloquently against "*abolition*." This resistance to the appropriation of the public treasure for such purposes,—this opposition to further violations of the Constitution, is itself denounced as "*abolition*." Will gentlemen from the South, or from the North, stand forth and maintain the justice, or the constitutionality of thus appropriating the public funds? He insisted that if such a man could be found in that House, that he should come out boldly, and let the country know that there were members who maintained that Congress possesses such rights and such powers. He thought this a very proper opportunity for gentlemen to show their hands on this question. But if there were no such members present, if all admitted this treaty to be a violation of the Constitution and of the rights and honor of the free States, he would not detain the committee with further remark.

Mr. *Levy*, of Florida, said he hoped that the appropriation would be struck out but for a very different reason than that referred to by the gentleman from Ohio. It was well known that these Indians had been engaged in hostilities against the United States. They had killed our women and children, and had destroyed large amounts of property belonging to the people of Florida, and Congress ought to retain these moneys, embraced in their appropriations, to be paid to the sufferers. He said the violation of this article which had been read *was one of the causes that led to hostilities in Florida*. It was a very just and a very proper stipulation, which the government had the right and the power to enter into; and one which the Indians were bound to perform.

Mr. *Giddings* said he thanked the gentleman for his frankness in saying that the Florida war had arisen from the violation of this article in the treaty. Northern men could hardly be made to believe that this government had expended forty millions of dollars and some thousand lives in order to compel these Indians to catch runaway negroes; but as the gentleman from Florida had now admitted the fact, he trusted that all cavilling on that point would be put at rest.

Mr. *Levy* asked leave to explain.

Mr. *Giddings* yielded the floor.

Mr. *Levy* said that he had not stated that the violation of this article was the cause of the war, but that it was one of the causes that led to the war.

Mr. *Giddings*. I am glad to be corrected. I certainly understood the gentleman as conveying that idea. But whether he admits the fact or not, the documentary evidence now on file, show it officially. But the gentleman, aside from this, says this stipulation for catching slaves, is a very proper one for the federal government to make, and one which the Indians were bound to perform. This, sir, is the very point which I desire to see discussed. I am anxious to understand gentlemen on this plain doctrine. For the first time on this floor, it is now avowed and proclaimed. The right of the government to tax the laborers of the North to catch runaway slaves, is now, for once, and for the first time, distinctly put forth in a plain and intelligible form. I deny it in the most explicit manner. And the issue is thus placed in a clear manner before the country.

Mr. *Dromgoole*, of Virgina, said that he would suggest to the gentleman from Ohio to wait until he got into the other end of the capitol, and when a treaty was submitted for approval, his argument would then be relevant.

[This I suppose is sound doctrine in the "strict construction" school, that the House of Representatives is bound to make appropriations for carrying out a treaty, although that treaty be an infraction of the Constitution.]

Mr. *Giddings* said he was in the habit of acting at such times as his own judgement dictated. He came here for that purpose, and not to put himself under the surveillance of any man. When he desired the gentleman's advice, he would inform him.

Mr. *Dromgoole* said he had not advised the gentleman.

Mr. *Giddings*. No sir, he has not *advised*, he has only *suggested* his opinions as to the course which I should pursue in the discharge of my duties here. While that gentleman's opinions are confined to the government of his own conduct, (said Mr. Giddings,) I have nothing to do with them. But when he attempts to control my acts, I say to him, "hands off," talk to your *slaves*, but do not attempt to act the *overseer* here.

Here is matter for the hard-working and tax-paying people of the North to reflect upon. There must be an end, by and by.—D. L. C.

WASHINGTON, March 2d, 1844.

I have seen a siege and two battles, but never more excitement than has prevailed here during the week just closed. In the first place, a struggle of ten years for the assertion of the right of petition, was crowned, as we thought, with a glorious victory, but a victory destined to be wrested from us before the lapse of four-and-twenty hours. In the journal of the proceedings of the House, which I have prepared to send herewith, you will learn the particulars of this extraordinary legislative vicissitude.* There is now very little hope that we shall be relieved from this villanous oppression, during the present session, or the present Congress. Such, however, is the magic power of a righteous cause, that defeat is victory, and persecution progress. I never felt so sure of a speedy triumph as at this moment. The means by which the abominable and shameless violation of our rights has been protracted for another session, are the surest guaranty of an early discomfiture of our foes, the foes of "God and Liberty."

The last act of the tragedy of the Princeton, has just been performed. The remains of the great personages, who perished by the awful and tremendous explosion, on board that vessel, have been carried to the silent tomb. An immense procession, civil and military, attended them to their resting-place. I am inclined to believe that this event, may have most important bearings upon the cause of righteous freedom, and the destinies of our country. On Saturday last, the President sent a message to the House of Representatives, which, a member from South Carolina, stated was of very great importance. The House however, being occupied with the question of the *right of petition*, paid no attention to the intimation, and it was not read. After the adjournment, the member said that the President was anxious that it should be read without delay. On Monday it was read, and proved to be a recommendation that a number of ships of war be constructed on the *principle of the Princeton*; and that a *naval depot be established on the Mississippi river*. On Wednesday, a splendid fête was given by Capt. Stockton, on board the frigate, and while this served as a convenient excuse for some to be absent from the House at the time that an important decision, in which they had just concurred, was reversed, and which they would have been ashamed to have reversed by their own votes, others staid away from a sense of duty to watch over the final extirpation of the tyrannical "rule." They were disappointed and saved.

The President, and all the heads of departments, (except Mr. Spencer,) the diplomatic corps, and many senators and representatives, and about four hundred ladies were on board the frigate, in the height of festive enjoyment, when the catastrophe occurred. It would have been vastly more destructive, had it not been the design of a few to surprise the party, a majority of whom were at the table below, by an unexpected discharge of the great gun, called *The Peacemaker*. At previous discharges, notice had been given to the company, in order that all, who wished, might enjoy a near view of the experiment. By this trifling circumstance, in all probability, was the President, and many other distinguished persons, both native and foreign, saved from a horrible fate. Mr. Upshur and Mr. Gilmer were dreadfully torn, and disfigured. They perished instantaneously. A few minutes before the explosion, the former is said to have met the Mexican minister, and said, in a jocular tone, "This is an important matter. At this rate, a gun may be made which will reach Mexico." The Texan charge was in close and earnest conversation with the Secretary of State, during much of the morning. Mr. Gilmer had just resigned his seat in the House of Representatives, to accept his new and most important post. Before he withdrew from the House, he received, (as I am informed,) the resolutions of the Texan Congress, (which you have seen mentioned in our Texas news,) in favor of annexation to the United States. These were to be made the basis of legislative action here, if it should be deemed expedient. The method by treaty seems to have been preferred, for it is generally believed that Mr. Upshur had a treaty of annexation nearly ready to be submitted for ratification. What is to come of all this, it passes human foresight to tell. This I feel confident of, that Mr. Tyler is obstinately bent upon effecting the annexation of Texas before he goes out. He probably thinks it may be a means of *staying in!*

Mr. Walker, of the Senate, is much talked of as successor to Mr. Upshur. It is to be hoped that the Northern Senators will do their duty in case he is sent in. It would be a most pernicious appointment.—D. L. C.

* The journal was received too late for insertion this week.

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW, FOR MARCH.

This number contains the following articles: Danton, Robespierre, and Morat, an original paper by a Cotemporary and Colleague; The Printer's Mission, by F. W. Cole; A Summer Shower, by R. S. S. Andros; Loose Leaves, by a Literary Lounger; this is No. 3, of a very interesting series about libraries, containing a good deal of curious information; The Intelligence Office, by Nathaniel Hawthorn; Desmond, or the Charmed Life, by Flora Macarthy; The Star Gazer, beautiful and plaintive, by C. P. Cranch; New-Old Essays of Addison and Steele, by W. A. Jones; The Bedouin, by W. S. Mago; Free Trade; Image Worship; The Twenty-First Rule; Song from the Polish of Klopinski; Mignon's Song, from the German of Goethe; Medusa, as taken from an antique gem, by Mrs. St. John; Financial and Commercial article; New Books, &c.

The article on the Twenty-First Rule maintains that "the *right of petition* is certainly the smallest of all the great principles of the day." "It is true that the recognition of its existence is to be found in the Constitution. But it should be borne in mind that the men of that day had received all their political education in the English school—and a noble school of freedom it was for that day. In England, the movement and struggle of the people had always been upward, forcing their way slowly up towards the light of liberty, against the massive superincumbent pressure of a monarchy and aristocracy, once unlimitedly despotic. But surely in the midst of the wide democratic freedom of *our* institutions, the question presents itself to the American citizen with a very different aspect."

The writer seems to have forgotten some three millions of native born Americans, who in the midst of "our wide democratic freedom," lie crushed under "the massive superincumbent pressure of an aristocracy, which is *now* unlimitedly despotic."

Out upon such democracy! The genuine democrat blushes for it, in shame, as the true disciple of Jesus does for the Levitical arguments of the gallows-pleaders, who urge "blood for blood," under the plea of special enactments, while in the same breath they profess the greatest reverence for the gospel of forgiveness and love.

THE PRESENT.

The 9th and 10th numbers of this periodical, by Wm. H. Channing, have just issued from the press under one cover. It is full of wise things, in advance of the age. The strong hopefulness of the editor is indicated by the following extract: "Were this planet the lowest state of hell, and men the meanest of demons, still there must come a time when the coral islands of successful effort shall rear their

resistance, he doubted not the power of good to overcome evil, the efficacy of love to govern the world.

Although a faithful advocate of reform, his peculiar views of liberty and of duty prevented him from belonging to any association of any kind whatever; yet, he regularly attended the meetings of the anti-slavery, temperance, and other kindred associations of his neighborhood, and his co-operation and sympathy did much to encourage and invigorate the hearts of his friends. He was very useful in counselling and assisting the needy around him. The injured colored man found in him a fearless and powerful advocate. His unostentatious kindness, and sterling worth made him esteemed wherever he was known. Although born and reared in a slave State, surrounded by the influences of slavery, yet, his whole soul recoiled from oppression, and he was constrained to quit the place of his nativity on account of the baneful effects of the accursed slave system. He was in the practice of attending the meetings of the Society of Friends; his religion, however, consisted not in assent to abstruse theories, but in a righteous life; not in formal observances, but in the living faith which is manifested by works. His bereaved family and friends deeply deplore the loss of one so kind and true. The blessings of many hearts are resting on his memory, and his works follow him. Being dead he yet speaks, and calls us to the practice of those kindly feelings, and holy principles, which so beautifully shone forth in his character.—C. H.

NEW-YORK LETTERS.—The second edition is now for sale by Charles S. Francis, Broadway, with whom anti-slavery offices can make favorable terms, if they wish to procure any number for sale.

☞ Acknowledgments deferred.

Anti-Slavery Items.

MASSACHUSETTS BETRAYED BY HER SENATORS.—The following petition was sent to the legislature of this State, a few days since. Its object was not to obtain a long array of signatures, (which might easily have been done,) but to bring the servile conduct of Senators Bates and Choate before that body, in a manner not to be evaded without disgrace. If the legislature shall refuse, or neglect to censure those truckling doughfaces, it will deserve as stern a rebuke as they, from the lips of an indignant and insulted people; for this is not a party question.

To the Hon. Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The memorial of the undersigned respectfully represents, that in common, as they believe, with a vast majority of the people of the State, they feel grieved and mortified at the inadequate manner in which the sentiments of this commonwealth, as expressed in the unanimous resolutions of the legislature, on the subject of slavery, are represented in the Senate of the United States.

Your petitioners are informed that the most injurious imputations were thrown out in the Senate of the United States against this commonwealth, when the resolutions referred to were presented; that both our Senators sat silent, under them, and that the Senator who presented them, thought it necessary to accompany them with his formal protest against the doctrine which they contained, and a virtual apology and exculpation for his own agency in the matter. The resolves of this State were, in short, presented in what your petitioners view a spirit of faltering timidity, which has robbed them of half their moral value.

Wherefore, your petitioners respectfully pray that the legislature would, by the passage of suitable resolutions, or otherwise, admonish our Senators in Congress, that they are expected to second in good faith, with true courage, and their whole personal influence, the moral stand this commonwealth has taken against the common course and degradation of the whole country, or to give place to others, who better understand, and have the boldness and decision to carry out, the unalterable sentiments of Massachusetts.

Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, John G. King, Edmund Jackson, Perez Gill, H. I. Bowditch, Henry W. Williams, Bela Marsh, Ira Greenwood, William Dall, John Rogers, Charles Roath, John L. Emmery, Wm. H. Nye, J. B. Yerriaton, James Jackson, Francis George Shaw, Charles Ellis, James Tolman, Wm. Thomas, Samuel Downer, Jr. Goodhue Ambrose, S. Davis, George Jackson.

Mr. Saltonstall, of Salem, moved to lay this petition on the table, which motion was negatived: yeas 58, nays 92.

It was then referred to the special committee on the subject of slavery, and, on motion of Mr. Richardson, of Woburn, was ordered to be printed.—*Liberator.*

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—The House of Representatives of Mississippi, on the 11th instant, adopted a series of resolutions, by a vote of 61 to 10, instructing the senators, and requesting the representatives in Congress from that State, "to urge zealously and perseveringly, the immediate and indissoluble annexation, by treaty, of the republic of Texas to the United States; and declaring that, if the desired annexation should not be affected, the acquisition of a paramount influence in the councils of Texas by any European power, would be incompatible with the rights, interest and tranquility of the United States, and that any attempt directed thereto, ought to be considered by the United States sufficient cause for war.

CEYLON.—Mr. Scoble said at a late anti-slavery meeting in London, that by the operation of a registration law in Ceylon, nearly 37,000 persons had been liberated from bondage, leaving about 400 more to be emancipated in the island; that deputations had visited France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, and, that anti-slavery associations had been founded in all those countries, and were laboring with much success.

Congress.

SENATE, Tuesday, Feb. 20.

Mr. Archer submitted the following:

Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to Congress, as far as he may consider consistent with the public interest, any information which may have been received by the government from its accredited agents, tending to show any abuse of the flag of the United States, in subservience to the African slave-trade, and in violation of the laws and policy of government. Also, any correspondence which may have taken place between the government and the minister of Portugal, in relation to the taking away of slaves, the property of Portuguese subjects, from the territories of that power, in vessels owned and employed by citizens of the United States.

WEDNESDAY, Februhry 21.

The *President* of the Senate laid before that body a communication from the President of the United States, made in answer to a resolution of the 31st ultimo, calling for information in relation to the interpretation given by the British government to the tenth article of the treaty of Washington, respecting the escape of slaves committing crimes and taking refuge in the British dominions, since the ratification of the treaty of 1842, and the refusal of the British authorities to deliver them up.

The secretary says, "That by the tenth article of the treaty, persons charged with the enumerated crimes are not to be delivered up, except upon such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crime or offense had there been committed. According to the laws of England proper, there is no doubt that an indictment found, as in the case of the Florida slaves, would authorize the arrest and commitment for trial of the accused. Whether the same law prevails in the colonies or not, I have no certain means of determining, although it is presumed that it does. But as, by the treaty, the law of the place where the accused may be found gives the rule, it cannot be justly assumed, in the case of the Florida slaves, that the stipulations of the treaty have not been observed, unless it shall be considered that the British act of parliament contains provisions in contravention of it, and that that act extends to the Bahamas At all events, so far as the case immediately under consideration is concerned, it would seem proper not to ake any definitive action upon the subject until an answer shall be received to my letter to Mr. Everett, of the 28th day of November last."

Mr. Pappan, of Ohio, proposed a call for all the documents in the case of Captain Makenzie.

Mr. Semple, of Illinois, introduced a bill for amending the cosular system of the United States.

Mr. Bates, of Massachusetts, spoke about two hours in favc of the tariff. He replied to Messrs. *Woodbury* and *McDuffie*, declaring that the tariff originated in South Carolina, and was forced upon Massachusetts, till she was compelled to conform to the new state of things, and change, to a great extent, her pursuits. Did it not amount to the supremacy of assurance for the senator to impte to Massachusetts a system which was forced upon hr, and against her will, by the South itself? Let the Senate and let the country judge between us, in regard to this subject. He was delighted to hear the gentleman from South Carolina say that South Carolina would rival us in manufactures. He did not know that there was not some moral or physical incapacity on hegart, to go into the business. He was glad to find it was not so. While South Carolina thus had a monopoly of the planting business, and equal facilities in manufacturing, while she thus had her choice in pursuits, why should the gentleman wish to deny to us the only pursuit that was open to us? The senator said that the loor of South Carolina was the cheapest in the world and that the northern manufacturers could not compete with it. Perhaps, if our competition with it was to depend on our living as slaves did, and working as slaves worked, under the impulses of the overseer, we should never compete with the South. We should certainly never attempt a competition by such means.

He stated that the average profits of cotton manufacturers were below six, and of woolen, below three per cent.

Mr. McDuffie expressed his intention to show how the tariff originated. He should have something to say of "the unparalleled audacity and reckless boldness with which the gentleman had attempted to make South Carolina responsible for the ruinous protective policy. Mr. D. appeared much excited during much of Mr. Bates's speech.

THURSDAY, February 22.

Mr. Merrick, from the committee on the post-office and post-roads, reported a bill to reduce postage, and to limit and restrict the use of the franking privilege, accompanied by an elaborate report, which was ordered to be printed. The amendments are not understood to change the rates originally proposed in the bill, but the bill is decidedly more liberal to the press. Editors are to be allowed their free exchange as usual, and all papers free for thirty miles from the town in which they are published.

Mr. Archer submitted the following:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested, if not inconsistent with his views of the public interest, to communicate any correspondence which may have taken place with any agent or agents of the government of Great Britain, in relation to the interpretation of the tenth article of the treaty of August, 1842, known as the Ashburton treaty, accompanied by information of any action which may have occurred in execution of this article on the part of the authorities of the United States.

After some debate, the motion of Mr. Tappan on Capt. Makenzie's case, was postponed.

A debate was commenced by *Mr. Atchison*, of Missouri, on the resolution to give notice to the British government of the termination of the convention for the joint occupation of the territory of Oregon. He declared that in one year the people of the United States would have that country. If we should be so unfortunate as to get in war with England, let it come. Let it come in its most destructive form. We may hope that, before it ended, she will lose her foothold on this continent, and in the West Indies. This horrid phantom of war seemed to occupy the minds of some gentlemen so fully that they could not calmly look at the subject. If we were to have a war, let it be with England, in preference to any other nation. A remembrance of former injuries and encounters, would enable us to strike the harder. As to this thing of negotiation, it was only calculated to throw dust in our eyes. All admitted the justice of the claim. And why then not act on the subject?

Mr. Choate, of Massachusetts, replied at much length, arguing that the meeting of the convention would find parties now at peace in the territory, confronting each other in hostility; that the measure would exert an unfavorable influence on the adjustment of the question by negotiation. This question had not been regarded as one of great urgency, and if let alone, and our people permitted to go on with their emigration and their cultivation, the hunters would retire, and the territory become ours, without an effort.

FRIDAY, February 23.

Mr. Francis, of Rhode Island, presented resolutions of the general assembly of Rhode Island, in favor of an appropriation for the payment of the claims of American citizens to indemnity for French spoliations prior to 1800.

Mr. Archer's resolution, touching the tenth article of the Ashburton treaty, was adopted.

Mr. Hannegan spoke in reply to Mr. Choate, and was followed by *Mr. Dayton*, on the other side.

[The zeal and violent collisions of opinion exhibited thus far, indicate a long and important discussion. The question of peace or war is in fact all ready up. There is a war clique, who appear not to want negotiation; and they are striving, by all sorts of means, to form a war party. Hannegan insinuated that the Northeastern States cared nothing for national honor, and had evinced it in the disgraceful settlement of the Northeastern boundary. He intimated that he should choose to separate from a people so grovelling, and even take the Utopia of Mr. McDuffie, rather than live under a government of *gold*. "The work goes bravely on."]

MONDAY, Feb. 26.

Mr. Bayard, from the committee on naval affairs, reported a bill to establish a navy yard and depot at or adjacent to *the city of Memphis, on the Mississippi river, in the State of Tennessee.*

Mr. Choate, from the committee on the library, reported a joint resolution to authorize the transmission and presentation of books to the minister of justice of France, in exchange for books received from him.

Mr. Dayton, of New Jersey, resumed his remarks on the Oregon question, and concluded one of the most argumentative and thrilling addresses to which it has been my lot to listen for a long time. It evidently carried consternation into the war clique, gathered in Mr. *Benton's* corner. This whole debate is an outrage upon "law and order," because the subject belongs to the executive, in its present stage. The Senate will be all powerful over it, when it comes before them. Even a *minority* can then restrain the executive, if they know or suspect any wrong. But a special minister has arrived, to settle the question with the proper constitutional organ of this people; and while we are professing a wish to treat, another branch of the government is undertaking to do by legislation, contemplating ultimate force, and implying *menace*, just what the executive is endeavoring to do, by negotiation! Such folly, to call it no worse, will justly expose us to the wonder and derision of mankind. There is but one interpretation that can be put upon it, and that is, that it is intended to defeat the negotiation, and all negotiation except with the mouth of the cannon. Preparatory to that, the question is being converted into a party question, and a war party is in the chrysalis state, and the *Globe* is endeavoring, as fast as possible, to develop its wings. Hence the revival of the old slang about "patriot States" that feel for national honor, and "huckstering States," that feel only for sordid gold. Hence the coarse and brutal insinuation, that we strive for peace for no other motive than fear of danger; that we take counsel of our fears, &c. Mr. Dayton made a noble and overwhelming answer to the slangwhangers, and exposed most thoroughly, and that from the mouths of the adversaries, the false pretense that there is the smallest scintilla of a question of national honor in the case.

TUESDAY, Feb. 27.

Mr. Walker presented resolutions passed by the legislature of Mississippi, in relation to the establishment of a national armory and naval depot somewhere within that State, and if it cannot be had there, they suggest that it be made at Memphis, in Tennessee.

A bill was passed authorizing a compromise with the sureties of *Swartwout*.

Mr. Breese, of Illinois, addressed the Senate on the Oregon question. He was moderate, compared with his colleague. [Mr. Hannegan,] and the senators from Missouri. He criticised passed negotiations, touching the Oregon, and traced the present difficulty to what he considered an oversight in our negotiators at Ghent. He considered the great point to be, whether it would be better to negotiate under a joint or separate occupancy, a very different thing from the point of honor insisted upon by the other senators from the West. This was tapering off very essentially. Mr. B. had much to say about British arrogance and rapacity, and about newspapers in the British interest. He attempted a pretty large eulogium upon Mr. Benton, but it came off huskily. He declared that honorable gentleman was not aiming to get up a war.

THURSDAY, Feb. 29.

Mr. Bagby, of Alabama, offered resolutions of the legislature of that State, in reply to those of Massachusetts. He took occasion to say, that in opposing, on a former day, the printing of the resolutions of Massachusetts, he had not intended to reflect upon the senator [Mr. Bates] who presented them. He was reported—and he would not say incorrectly—as saying that the measure was treasonable in regard to the rights of the South. He did not intend to impute any improper purpose to the gentleman from Massachusetts. On the contrary, his brief acquaintance with that gentleman would enable him, with pleasure, to testify to the propriety, devotion, and, he had no doubt, sincere patriotism of the gentleman. So far as his remarks might imply a censure upon that gentleman, he recalled them; and by way of atonement for what might appear to be a departure from the liberal course which he had always endeavored to pursue, he would now move to take up the resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts, in order to give an opportunity to some one to move that they be printed.

He moved that the resolutions presented by him be laid on the table and printed.

Mr. Bates said that it did not become him to move a *second* time the printing of these resolutions. He had not wished to get up a debate on slavery when another very important one was in progress. He had relied on the justice of the senator to right this matter, and considered that the course he had now taken was honorable to himself.

Mr. Bagby moved that the resolutions of Massachusetts be printed.

Mr. King, of Alabama, thought his colleague would have done better to let some one else call up the resolutions. He [Mr. King] had a course to pursue on this subject, when it came up, and wished the motion to lie over. *Mr. Berrien* expressed a similar desire. *Mr. Archer* said he had resolutions from Virginia on the same subject. The matter was passed over.

FRIDAY, March 1.

The Senate met only to pass resolutions, and appoint a committee to pay the last honors to the memory of the distinguished persons killed on board the Princeton.

Mr. Rives, of Virginia, prefaced them with some appropriate remarks. The Senate adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Monday, Feb. 19.

Mr. Barnard presented the petition of 292 inhabitants of the city of Albany, New-York, praying that Congress will not consent to the annexation of Texas to the United States.

Mr. Adams presented the following:

To the House of Representatives of the United States:

We, the undersigned, being of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio, and having, with deep anxiety and painful emotions, observed the distraction and alienation which is so alarmingly prevalent throughout the greater part of our beloved country—especially among the representatives of the people, who are so exceedingly broken in judgment, that the affairs of the nation cannot be conducted so as to sustain its dignity and promote its best interests; and being fully convinced that the neglect to recognize the law of God as the basis of all human legislation, is the fontal source of these evils—the legitimate, yet bitter fruits, growing out of this radical defect in the instrument which lies at the foundation of this republic, and is regarded as "the supreme law of the land;" and that God, in His providence, is causing "times" to pass over us, to let this nation know "that the Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men," (Dan. vi. 25, 26,) and "that all people, nations, and languages should serve him," (Dan. vii. 14.)

We therefore pray you, as their representatives, to recommend to the people of these United States an alteration of the Constitution, embracing the following amendments:

1. A clear and explicit acknowledgment of the Sovereign of the Universe, as the God of this nation.

2. An entire and avowed submission to the Lord Jesus Christ, His anointed, (Psalms ii. 7,) who is prince of the kings of the earth, (Rev. i. 5,) the head of all principalities and powers, (Col. ii. 10,) as the ruler of his nation.

3. An unreserved reception of His revealed will, contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the law *paramount*, by which all the affairs of this republic shall be regulated, all conflicting State laws being regarded as perfectly null and void. (Psalms ii. 10, 12.) "Be wise now, therefore, oh ye kings." Also, (Psalms xix. 6, 11,) "The law of the Lord is perfect," &c.

We also must earnestly and solemnly entreat you, as you regard your own and the best interests of the nation, that you rescind at once, and forever, all enactments whereby a violation of God's law is authorized; whether by running the mail stage on His Sabbath, or otherwise; for "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." (Prov. xiv. 34.) See also (Psalms xciv. 20,) where the divine pleasure is expressed; and Psalms ix. 17, where nations that forget God are devoted to destruction. Also, Jer. v. 9, where God has denounced his dread vengeance upon all the nations that do not serve and obey him; and in Rev. xix. 11, 12, the sentence is represented as being executed; the battle decisive; the overthrow entire and complete.

With these, and many other portions of *infallible* truth before us; and also a knowledge of the many and grievous sins with which this nation is chargeable in the sight of God—it is our deliberate judgment, that nothing but *national* repentance, and a *thorough* reformation in both constitution and administration, will save this republic from threatened and impending ruin.

By the alienation, distraction, pecuniary embarrassments, and other abounding calamities, God in His providence is saying, in the language of the prophet Isaiah, "Come now, and let us reason together. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." (Chap. I. v. 18, 20.)

After a good deal of skirmishing in which the yeas and nays were twice asked by Mr. Adams, and refused, the question of reception was laid on the table.

Mr. Tyler, of New-York, presented the remonstrance of Bliss C. Willoughby and others, inhabitants of Cattaraugus county, New-York, against the annexation of Texas to the United States.

Mr. *Giddings* presented the petition of James M. Brown, and 48 other citizens of Bloomfield, Ohio; of Ira Row, and 34 other citizens of Trumbull county, Ohio; of John Henry, and 92 other citizens of the same county; of Alfred Johnson, and 41 other citizens of Seneca county, Ohio; of Henry Hide, and 71 other citizens of Ontario county, New-York; of B. B. Hunter, and 78 other citizens of Ashtabula county, Ohio; of W. Hunter, and 27 other citizens of the same county; of Levi Gaylord, and 107 other citizens of the same county; all praying such amendment of the federal Constitution as to apportion the representatives according to the free population of the various States.

Also, the petitions of Samuel Willis and 38 other citizens of York county, Pennsylvania; of Benjamin B. Davis, and 107 residents of Columbiana county, Ohio; of James J. Wilson, and 14 other inhabitants of Mercer county, Pennsylvania; of a meeting of citizens of Columbiana county, Ohio; all against the annexation of Texas to the United States.

Also, the petition of Samuel Willis, and 28 other citizens of York county, Pennsylvania; and the proceedings of a public meeting at Columbiana county, Ohio; for the abolition of all laws and constitutional provisions that sustain slavery.

Also, the petition of John Henry, and 102 citizens of Trumbull county, Ohio, praying the passage of laws rendering it penal to trade in slaves.

Also, of Alfred Johnson, and 39 other citizens of the United States, praying Congress to authorize private vessels to capture, on the coast of Africa, ships engaged in the slave trade, and to share the proceeds in case of condemnation.

Also, the petition of B. B. Hunter, and 58 other citizens of Ashtabula county, Ohio, praying Congress to pass a law punishing with death or imprisonment for life, any persons who shall sell, or cause to be sold, any free person into slavery.

Also, the proceedings of a public meeting in Columbiana county, Ohio, praying a repeal of duty on cotton; remonstrance of same meeting against any increase of the navy.

Mr. *Severance* presented the petition of Otis Haines, and upwards of 70 other legal voters of the town of Vassalborough, in the State of Maine, that the independence of Hayti may be recognized. Referred to the committee on foreign affairs.

Of the same, that the 21st (now 25th) rule may be abrogated. Was received and referred.

Of the same, that a law may be passed prohibiting the admission into the Union of any State whose constitution tolerates slavery.

The Speaker decided that it did not come within the rule. Whereupon, Mr. Belser moved that it be not received, and Mr. Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, moved to lay the question of reception on the table. Upon this, the yeas and nays were demanded, but the House refused to order them. The question of reception was then laid on the table—equivalent to a rejection of the petition.

Mr. *Burke* presented a memorial from the democratic members of the general assembly of Rhode Island, touching the recent political troubles in that State, praying an inquiry into the power of the President to interfere therein, as he had claimed to do; also, praying Congress to call for copies of all correspondence and documents; to institute an inquiry into the right of their seats in this House of the members from Rhode Island; and praying that Congress would guarantee a republican Constitution to that State, &c.

This memorial was referred to a select committee by a strictly party vote, yeas 103 democrats, nays 69 whigs. The House adjourned over to Wednesday for the purpose of giving the members an opportunity of visiting the Princeton steamer.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 21.

Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, spoke in favor of the "21st rule." He said that the gentleman from New-York (Mr. Beardsley) had affirmed that there was but one opinion throughout this Union on the subject of slavery. He begged the gentleman to speak for the North, if he pleased, and not for the South. It was offensive in any to inquire what were the opinions of the South on a question purely domestic. Mr. B. was authorized to declare that the gentleman had never entertained or expressed a more groundless opinion than that which had been alluded to. The gentleman had further said, that the existence of slavery at the South was a matter for which the present generation of her citizens were not responsible; but he would tell that gentleman, and all others, that the present generation entertained precisely the same sentiments in regard to slavery, which had been held and expressed by their ancestors; and they held it an utter impertinence for any one, from any quarter, to dare question that institution.

Mr. Beardsley (the floor being yielded for the purpose) here inquired whether he was not to understand himself as in part intended in these remarks.

Mr. Burt said (as the reporter understood him) that he was, but that he (Mr. Burt) had intended nothing offensive.

Mr. Beardsley understood the gentleman as being pleased to hold the remark made by him, that on the subject of slavery in the abstract there was, as there could be, but one opinion in every quarter of the Union, North, West, or South, as an impertinent remark. Was that what he was to understand?

Mr. Burt. I have said.

Mr. Beardsley thought it very strange, indeed, that a remark of this kind should be indulged in by a member on that floor. Really! that because a gentleman chose to state what he believed to be the opinions of the men of the North on slavery, or on any other subject, they were to be charged with impertinence! He threw back the charge! It was a strange time of day, truly, when, to say that touching slavery in the abstract there was but one opinion, was to be interpreted as an impertinent interference with a domestic question. Mr. B. had carefully avoided the subject of slavery. Throughout the whole tenor of his remarks, he tenderly avoided touching upon it in any way, for it was no concern of his. He had done so, not because he was not at liberty to speak of it just as freely as he chose to speak, but because he did not choose.

Here *Mr. Payne* interfered, and wished to know of the chair whether it was competent for a gentleman to take up, in this manner, the time of another gentleman who was entitled to the floor, and whose time of speaking was limited?

The *Chair* reminded Mr. P. that the gentleman on the floor had expressly yielded it to the gentleman from New-York.

Mr. Payne still persevering in his remonstrance—

Mr. Beardsley said to him, I know my business.

Mr. Payne. I doubt if you do.

Here some sensation arose, and cries of order were heard.

Mr. Burt. I presume the gentleman is satisfied.

Mr. Beardsley. Certainly.

Mr. Burt resumed, and said, that whoever used such epithets as had been applied to the institution of slavery, he denounced here, and held himself responsible for what he said elsewhere. He had applied the term impertinent, to remarks which the gentleman had so unnecessarily introduced.

Mr. Beardsley. What was that you said?

Mr. Burt. I said that I held myself responsible for my words elsewhere. He here repeated that the gentleman from New-York (Mr. Beardsley) had used expressions which had no foundation. If this remark was offensive, he left it to the person offended to seek his redress. The gentleman had denounced the institution of slavery; no, perhaps not denounced it, but he had spoken disrespectfully of an institution with which he (Mr. B.) and his constituents were identified—an institution in the midst of which he had grown up, and one to which the State he in part represented, attributed much that was illustrious in her history, and ennobling in her condition.

Mr. Burt insisted that the North and West had stipulated to protect and sustain slavery—to return fugitive slaves and fugitives from justice—to maintain the right of slave representation—to march to the swamps of Carolina, and suppress slave insurrections.

The South, he said, reposing with confidence in a faith which had then never been broken, agreed to confederate with the northern States on these terms. But how had they been regarded? Massachusetts had passed a law to defeat, as far as in her power, the fulfillment of the stipulations. Vermont had passed a similar law, and New-York had done nearly the same, though she had not gone quite so far. Cases had occurred of negro thieves taking refuge in all those States, but in what single instance had they ever been given up?

Mr. B. denied that abolitionists were few, and contemptible; but he called them an infamous party, who had inscribed "rapine and blood" on their banner. They had enlisted the press and the *pulpit*. [Quite the reverse. Slavery, as a general thing, has enlisted the *pulpit*.] They proclaimed their object to be the abolition of slavery upon earth, and with an utter want of patriotism, they even appealed to British agencies in accomplishing it. They openly avowed that, should their petitions even be received and laid on the table of the House, they would not be content; and under that avowal was the South to be deluded by assurances that if petitions should once be received, all clamor would be over, and all the different sections of the country happily united?

It was time this agitation should cease. The South asked of their friends in the North and the West not to lend themselves to the foul purpose of such a combination. On this subject she had a right to speak. She well knew the character of her property; she knew it when she came into the confederacy, and therefore it was that she demanded guaranties from the North. She told the North that these petitions, if encouraged, would lead to southern insurrection. The South, if she must meet the horrible crisis, was not afraid to meet it; but she asked Congress not to prostrate its power to assail an institution which every department of the government had sacredly bound itself to maintain.

A member from Maine had told the House that the North would never be satisfied till slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia. Mr. B. would tell that gentleman, and all others, that when that measure was discussed for adoption in this hall, it would be the last subject the American Congress would discuss here. The South would regard it as a declaration of war, and treat it accordingly. When that scene came to be witnessed within these walls, he told the member from Maine that even he would not find security in his obscurity at the North, from the storm that, once roused, would rage beyond control. He trusted in God, if they must witness a servile insurrection springing out of this horrible agitation at the North, that its leaders would come to the aid of their beloved allies at the South, and he would now tell them, in the name of all the South, that not a wreck or remnant should ever return to tell the story of their disaster.

On the pension bill, an amendment was proposed to deprive all officers of pensions, who were receiving *full pay*. This was *Cave Johnson's* motion. Mr. Johnson's idea was, that if an officer was able to do that active duty which entitles him to full pay, he was not invalid enough to be entitled to a pension.

Mr. Adams spoke against the proposition, and instanced *Commodore Jones* as having a pension, in addition to his pay. That officer had very recently rendered a very extraordinary service to his country, the nature of which service Mr. A. did not very much admire, nor should he certainly incline to give him any extra pay for that service; he meant the officer who had taken possession, in the name of the United States, of California, Capt. Jones. Although Mr. A. disapproved of that act of patriotism upon his part, he should be very unwilling, by any provision in an act of this sort, to take away from him (which this amendment would do) that which had been expressly granted him by Congress. The cases of Commodore Morris, and others, were mentioned. No question was taken.

THURSDAY, Feb. 22.

Mr. Dellet, of Alabama, addressed the House in support of the *gag rule*. He thought that if the South were North, and the North South, the complaints of the violation of the Constitution by the agitation of abolition, would be more violent than they are now. He referred to an expression of Mr. Giddings, that he would wash his hands of the guilt of supporting slavery.

He can't wash his hands. They are stained by his State. That State came into the compact by which she is bound to support slavery; all the water in the ocean can't wash the gentleman's hands. The gentleman had intimated that the navy, and particularly the home squadron, was employed, and our flag disgraced, in catching runaway slaves. Mr. D. then demanded in a long string of interrogatories, which he put with very great vehemance, whether that flag was disgraced in the hands of *slaveholders* at Eutaw, at Camden, at the Cowpens, at Fort Moultrie, at Yorktown, at Chippewa, at Tohopeka, at Taledega, and New Orleans.

[Mr. Dellet left out a link in the chain. If the flag had been borne on those occasions in a *slave catch*, then it *would* have been disgraced; and this, and no other, was Mr. Giddings's proposition.]

Mr. D. next directed his remarks at Mr. Adams. He regretted that the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Wise,) had left this House. He wished he were here, armed anew, to fight this battle. Then would Achilles be himself again, and repel the assaults of *Hector*. He referred with considerable bitterness to the celebrated declaration at Pittsburg, that he (Mr. A.) did not know how abolition was to come, whether in peace or by blood; "but at all events, let it come." Mr. D. then drew a fancy sketch of the horrors which would result from abolition, concluding every sentence with, "let it come." "*Let* it come," repeated Mr. Adams in his piercing tone.

[This seemed to take Mr. D. aback, who, judging from his manner, had imagined that his impetuous eloquence would sweep Mr. Adams from his position. But this was no greater error of the imagination than the horrors, which he conjured up in defiance of all experience, as the inevitable consequence of abolition.]

Mr. D. proceeded to express astonishment that a gentleman on whom so many honors had been heaped by slaveholders, by him whose sacred memorial was there, [pointing to the portrait of Washington.]

Mr. Adams. And he emancipated his slaves!

Mr. D. made no resistance to this sally, but enumerated the slaveholders, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who had heaped honors upon Mr. Adams, honors which he did not mean to say that Mr. Adams had not merited. Mr. D. concluded by making an earnest appeal to Mr. Adams to put this tremendous question at rest. He, (Mr. A.) was the only man who had the moral power to accomplish this great and patriotic object.

[Mr. Dellet, like the rest of the southern members, knows very little of the spirit and operations of abolitionists. Nothing on earth can stop them, except the full restoration of every slave to his sacred and indefeasible rights.]

Mr. D. contrasted Mr. Adams's readiness to hear the petitions of a few hundred abolitionists, [Mr. Adams. Five hundred millions,] and his refusing to hear the petitions of five millions of men, women, and children in the South. Their petitions were contained in the Constitution, of which they claimed the fulfillment. Mr. D. then argued at some length, that the North had nothing to do with slavery.

[We thought that the latter end of Mr. D's discourse forgot the beginning, in which he said that Mr. Giddings's hands were stained by his State's coming into the compact to support slavery.]

The morning hour having expired, *Mr. Henley*, of Indiana, moved that the rules be suspended, so as to permit him to bring forward a resolution fixing the adjournment of Congress for May.

Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, declared that he would not consent to fix any time for adjournment, until the tariff was repealed. The yeas and nays were called and were yeas 108, nays 54, a tie, and the Speaker voted in the negative, so the rule was not suspended.

FRIDAY, Feb. 23.

It appeared that Mr. Slidell's name had been recorded among the nays, on the question of adjournment in May next, when in fact, he voted *nay*; and if his vote had been recorded right, it would have changed the result, and the Speaker would not have been called upon to vote. The record was corrected; and the Speaker decided that the effect was to restore the subject to the situation in which it would have been yesterday, if no mistake had been made; i. e. to suspend the rule, and admit the resolution for the adjournment of Congress in May next, to the consideration of the House. The opponents of the resolution denied that a suspension of the rule yesterday would be a suspension to-day, when circumstances and the business of the House were different. This was Mr. Drumgoole's position. The House now got into a snarl, from which after a great deal of confusion, they were relieved by Mr. Henley's withdrawing the resolution respecting adjournment, announcing that on Tuesday he should renew it

[The House showed in these proceedings, a clear and strong determination to adjourn at an early day, without admitting as a condition precedent the repeal of the tariff.]

Mr. *Cranston*, of Rhode Island, presented resolutions of the legislature, in favor of the payment of claims for French spoliations, observing that the resolutions contained an able and unanswerable argument.

Mr. *Rogers*, of New-York, spoke against the "21st rule." He said that abolitionists before the adoption of this rule, were like angel's visits, few and far between." Nothing had contributed to their increase like this rule. It was persecution, which had done it. He illustrated by referring to the revolution, and to the pilgrims, the noble work of art, commemorating their embarkation. He entered into an argument to show that Congress had power to abolish slavery in the District, and ought to use it. He made some very effective quotations from Jefferson's letter to Dr. Price, and from Patrick Henry's speeches. Jefferson, in reply to Dr. Price's, doubts as to the state of opinion at the South on slavery, declares that there was scarcely a difference. There were a few in favor of slavery, and so likewise, he adds, "are there robbers and murderers."

Mr. R. said it was of no use to tell his constituents that at this or that page of Hatsell, there was authority for not receiving these petitions! They took a common sense view of the matter, and looked upon the right of petition as necessarily inhering in the relation of rulers and people. He replied with great force to certain sneers of Mr. *Hammett*, of Mississippi, at the State of New-York, and Wm. H. Seward. He pronounced a noble vindication of Seward, and then asked, whence did this taunting, this sneering come? From Mississippi. Now, he humbly conceived, with all due deference and respect to the gentleman representing that State upon this floor, that Mississippi was the very last State in this Union, that should attempt to sit in judgment upon the characters of her sister States. The gentleman thought abolitionism pregnant with mischief, and black with dishonor. What did he think of repudiation? War, pestilence, or famine, might be endured, for their was a recuperative energy in this country to renew, to restore, to revive. But where was the medicine that should heal the broken honor of the country? Where was the hand that should wipe from her brow the leprosy of broken promises and blighted faith? It was moral and political death—that great unforgotten, unforgiven sin, of which (to use the beautiful sentiment of Sterne) it might be said there existed in Heaven's chancery no recording angel to drop a tear of pity on it or blot it out forever.

Mr. *Dromgoole*, of Virginia, got the floor, and said he should to-morrow withdraw the motion to recommit, and offer a substitute, for the report of the committee.

Mr. *Dromgoole* was entitled to the floor.

Mr. D. said, that without entering further into the subject at this time, he would submit the proposition which he had yesterday indicated.

He therefore withdrew the motion which he had heretofore made, to recommit the report to the select committee, with instructions to report back the rule commonly known as the 21st rule—i. e. that which relates to abolition petitions—and he submitted sundry propositions of amendment to that report, amongst which was the following:

"No petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper touching the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or in any State or territory of the United States, or praying the interference of Congress in any way with the transfer or removal of slaves from or to any State or territory of the United States in which slavery is authorized by law, shall be received by this House, or entertained by it in any way whatever."

Mr. D. said he had substantially retained the 21st rule, with a slight variation in the phraseology, with a view of giving the House an opportunity of taking a direct vote. His amendment would be open to further amendment, by moving to strike it out, and thus a direct vote would be had upon it.

He moved that the further consideration of the subject be postponed until Tuesday next, and that the amendments be printed, in order that the House might be in a position to comprehend the whole subject.

Mr. *Campbell*, of South Carolina, asked Mr. Dromgoole so to modify his amendment in relation to abolition petitions, as to include petitions for a dissolution of the Union.

Mr. *Dromgoole* declined to make the modification at present. If it was the pleasure of the House to direct the amendment to be printed, it would still, he said, be in his power to make modifications, and he would attend to any suggestions that might be offered with that view. At present, his object simply was, that the further consideration of the subject should be postponed until Tuesday, and that the amendments be printed.

Married,

In New-York city, February 22d, by Rev. Theodore S. Wright, Mr. EDWIN F. HOWARD, of Boston, to Miss JOANNA L. TURPIN, of New-Rochelle, New-York.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

AWFUL ACCIDENT!

On Wednesday, Feb. 28th, the U. S. steamer Princeton, commanded by Capt. Robert F. Stockton, made an excursion from Washington city down the Potomac, having on board the President, the Secretaries of State, War, and Marine; Commodore Beverley Kennon, chief of the bureau of naval construction, equipment and repairs; the Hon. Virgil Maxcey, late minister to Belgium; and Col. Gardiner, of Southampton, L. I. A colored servant of the President, named Armited, was also killed, and five men in charge of the cannon; making a total of eleven killed, out-right, except that the President's servant lived about ten minutes. Most of the bodies were shockingly mangled. Judge Upshur was nearly cut in two. Capt. Stockton was wounded, it is believed not dangerously, and Senator Benton slightly.

No ladies were injured, though one had her bonnet carried away by an iron fragment. The bodies were conveyed to the President's house.

Another fire at Norwich, Ct.—A still larger fire than the one mentioned last week, has occurred in Norwich. The entire square between Franklin House and Ferry street, south of Franklin square and north of the railroad, is totally destroyed, and almost all the goods and property contained in the buildings.

Heroism.—At the late conflagration of the poor house in Nantucket, Phœbe Loveless rescued six persons: two at a time; carrying them out by main force. First, she took her father and mother, one under each arm; a second trip, her sister and another person; and a third trip, two others, dragging them down the stairs, their feet striking on each stair; she made another trip into the house, and had to escape through the window. Such noble conduct is worthy, not only of regard, but also deserving of some suitable reward.

A colored man named John Lee, was lynched in Frederick county,

Poetry.

From the Irish Citizen.

THE GALLOWS-GOERS.

BY THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH.

Up and make ready, ye lovers of fun!
On with your holyday dress and be gay!
Now that the sheriff has work to be done,
Business with pleasure he mingles to-day.
Some may go hunting with guns: and a few,
Rods in their hands, little fish may pursue;
Ours is the sport which is sanctioned by law—
We go a hanging, a hanging! Hurrah!

Two months ago, on a rare, drunken bout,
Billy his comrade, the criminal slew;
Murder's a deed that is vile, without doubt—
Ergo—the law will turn murderer too.
As for the place where the liquor he got—
Liquor which maddened him—yonder's the spot.
Sammy, who keeps it, approves of the law—
He goes for hanging—for hanging! Hurrah!

Bright shines the sun on the place where you see
Yonder tall gallows, substantial and bare;
Wait a few hours, and a fellow will be
Dancing fandangos of fun in the air.
Gathered in groups at the gallows, behold
Parents and children, maids, wives, young and old,
Waiting the time when the halter shall draw—
They go for hanging—for hanging! Hurrah!

Pickpockets plenty are—mark how they go,
Slyly and coolly to work at their trade.
Business is business, and people must know
Too much attention to that can't be paid.
Swearing and fighting and kicking, the crowd
Utter their blasphemous curses aloud—
Righteous example is set by the law;
Good comes from hanging—from hanging! Hurrah!

Look at the criminal! please ye to look!
Standing beside him the hangman you see;
There is the priest, with his gown and his book—
Galloping gayly they go to the tree.
Thanks to the priest who the hangman befriend,
Choking such knaves as 'twere labor to mend.
Hanging they say is *Levitical* law—
Cheers for the clergy—they're *Christians!* Hurrah!

Firmly and proudly the culprit looks round,
Holding his head with a satisfied air:
Murmurs applauding go over the ground—
Down pops the priest with the felon to prayer.
"How interesting his looks are!" says Ann;
"Yes," answers Sal, "and he'll die like a man!"
Elegant talk for young maidens, but pshaw!
Shout for the hanging—the hanging! Hurrah!

Prayers are all finished, and now for the fun;
Over his features the cap has been drawn;
Ketch, and his comrade the preacher, get down,'
Crack! goes the whip, and the wagon moves on.
Wonderful sight for the Christian to see;
Merrily dancing on nothing is he.
Though there's no fiddle a hornpipe to saw,
Light are his leaps—he's a hanging! Hurrah!

After the rope has been severed in twain,
Home go the people, and joyfully sing;
Heaven will receive whom the gallows has slain—
Does not the clergyman settle the thing?
Home go the people, and talk of it all,
Children in nursery, servants in hall;
Bub hangs the cat, in the manner he saw
Hung at the gallows God's image—Hurrah!

Rouse ye, good clergymen, servants of God;
Stand by my side while I fight for your fun;
Hanging preserves us from shedding of blood;
Remedy like it there never was one.
Rally your forces, thump pulpits, and be
Clerical guards of the good gallows-tree;
What if our Saviour denounces the law?
You go for hanging—for hanging! Hurrah!

A SCENE IN CAROLINA.

Upon a rock that high and lone,
Hangs o'er the sounding sea,
Where the proud eagle's solemn tone
Rings from the eyrie free,
They stood above the foaming tide,
The youthful negro and his bride.

Below, green hills in beauty lay,
With greener vales between:
And streams, that winding on their way
Gave life to all the scene;
While far upon the shining sea,
Gay barques were dancing light and free.

Oh, gazing on that scene so fair,
The sky, the rock, the waves,
How beat their bosoms with despair,
To think that they were *slaves*—
To think of home, its joys, its cares,
A freeman's lot—and then of theirs!

Though months had passed since last they met,
And stripes and toil had been their fate,
Love's flame had burned as brightly yet,
As when they parted, desolate;
And should those ties be rent in twain,
All through the bleeding heart again?

No—by the cliff on which they kneel,
Pouring their prayers to heaven,
They vow to brave the stake or steel,
Ere love's fond ties be riven—
The coffle-ring, the bloody chain,
Shall never bind their limbs again.

But hark! upon the startled ear,
A howl and human cry—
They dash away the burning tear,
And gird themselves, to die—
While blood-hounds press for human prey,
Cheered on by men, more fierce than they.

They rush to where the rude cliff hung,
High beetling o'er the sea—
Then dashed them headlong—as they sung
A requiem wild and free;
One startling shriek—and parted waves
Close swiftly o'er their ocean graves!

THOUGHT AND DEED.

Full many a light thought man may cherish,
Full many an idle deed may do;
Yet not a deed or thought shall perish—
Not one but he shall bless or rue.
When by the wind the tree is shaken,
There's not a bough or leaf can fall,
But of its falling heed is taken
By One who sees and governs all.

The tree may fall and be forgotten,
And buried in the earth remain;
Yet from its juices rank and rotten,
Springs vegetating life again.
The world is with creation teeming,
And nothing ever wholly dies;
And things that are destroyed in seeming,
In other shapes and forms arise.

And Nature still unfolds the tissue
Of unseen works by spirit wrought;
And not a work but hath its issue
With blessing or with evil fraught.
And thou may'st seem to leave behind thee
All memory of the sinful past;
Yet oh, be sure, thy sin shall find thee,
And thou shalt know its fruits at last.

Miscellany.

From the Rose of Sharon.

THE GOOD RESOLUTION.

BY MISS S. C. EDGARTON.

Quite away from the dusty turnpike, and across sweet-smelling clover fields, in a small, quaint moss-grown edifice, dwelt Job Woodell, and his daughter, May. Job had been a fisherman in his better days, but, sad to tell, had been drawn from his honest occupation by the seductive charms of the village inn. There he might be found from early morning till midnight, scarce turning his steps homeward to the frugal meals prepared by his patient child, and leaving with her the whole care and toil of preparing for their family necessities.

Happy was it for May, poor girl, that her heart was as brave and hopeful, as it was patient and loving. Whoever passed her door on a bright spring morning, might hear her voice, singing songs as sweet and merry, as though she had not a care or sorrow in the world. And that little quaint old cottage! Who would have deemed it the home of an inveterate tippler, with its neatly-swept grass swad, its bed of fragrant carnations, its honeysuckles, azalias, and moss-roses?

Job loved his daughter May—was proud of her; and, save his great neglect, always treated her with kindness. In his worst stages of inebriation, he exhibited no phases of cruelty; he was only excessively and shamelessly silly, and disposed to lavish on May, a world of foolish and fondling caresses. May, in turn, was always gentle and patient with her father, never reproaching him for his vile habits, but often tenderly entreating him to stay and assist her about her garden, or to spend the long winter evenings with her, instead of hurrying away to the "Admiral."

One very beautiful spring morning, Job stuck his old hat jauntily on one side his head, and stood crowding the tobacco, into his pipe, ever and anon, casting a wishful look toward May, who was busily wiping the breakfast plates.

"Can I do anything for you, father?" said she, looking up, with a pleasant and encouraging smile.

"Ah, you're a good girl, May, a blessed girl! I hate to trouble you, but just now I'm all out of change, and a curse on these times, I say, when an honest man can't get trusted for a shilling to save him from want."

"Dear father, I would willingly give you what little money I have, but if I do we shall be forced to go without dinner, or supper, I fear."

"Are we really grown so poor as that? Ah, well! these are melancholy times for us poor fishes. I'll not take your money, May; I can win a shilling from Ned Watkins, any day, at nine-pins, and that will be easier than to rob you."

"O, papa! if you will not go to the Admiral today, but will help me plan out my little garden, and transplant those fine strawberry vines that yield us so many dollars every year—O, dear papa, I cannot tell you how happy you will make me, how very gratefully I shall remember the kindness."

"Little need of *my* assistance," answered Job, with a good-natured laugh, and a sly wink, that sent the bright blood gushing all over Mary's dimpled cheeks. "Younger and steadier hands are at your service, and an old man like me would be in the way."

"O, no! no, papa!" exclaimed May, earnestly, dropping her work, and clasping her arm in his, at the same time lifting up her beaming, tearful eyes, most imploringly.

Job was touched. Tears were unwonted visiters to those joyous and radiant eyes; so, at least, thought he, who saw few indeed of the many that was shed for him.

"You are a good girl, May," said he, patting her head, and kissing her white forehead with parental delicacy; "you are a good girl, and I wish I were a more worthy father. But let me go now, dear, and I will be soon back again to help you." With this promise, he tore himself away.

May had been too long accustomed to have her entreaties disregarded, to shed may tears for her present disappointment; so, having completed her household arrangements, she tied on her little cottage straw—its blue ribbon somewhat faded, it is true, but thereby better suiting the exquisite delicacy of her complexion—and proceeded to the garden. There was a freshness and exhiliration in the soft, spring air, that soon removed from her heart and face, all traces of unhappiness; and if her cheek had previously been a shade too pale, this defect was remedied the instant the sound of a buoyant and hasty footstep fell upon her listening ear.

The person who approached was the son of May's nearest neighbor, widow Lovell. He was a fine-looking fellow, with a complexion of the clearest white, eyes of the darkest blue, and hair that would rival the gloss and blackness of "a raven's wing." He had a basket on his arm, full of young plants.

"You were wishing for some of those gorgeous pansies, May. See, I have been fortunate enough to procure you some."

"You are my good genius, Harry. I have but to wish, and lo! the prize is at hand. I thank you a thousand times."

The young friends busied themselves in planting the roots, for some time in silence. They were lovers, though not acknowledged ones. The confession had long been trembling on Harry's lips, (silly fellow! did he not know his eyes had already told it, over and over again?) but there was something in May's manner that restrained and embarrassed him. This morning, however, he had sought her with the determination to avow his love.

For nothing was Harry Lovell more remarkable than for his readiness and eloquence of speech. It was astonishing what could keep him so silent on this occasion. Root after root was fixed in the ground, and still his tongue faltered in its instructed duty. "This is no place," thought he, "with the sun glaring down upon us, and in open view of half the village." He rose from the garden path, and lifting his new palm-leaf hat—May's hand had braided it for him—brushed back from his forehead, which was a very white and handsome one, a mass of black, glossy curls.

"You are weary, May," said he, "and the sun is really oppressive. I have my thoughts on a glass of your nice root beer. In the shade of the porch, it will be very refreshing."

May laughed, and led the way to the house. The beer was brought, drank, and praised; the glasses removed, and May, with her bonnet off, and her soft, brown hair parted smoothly from her brow, had seated herself on the threshold of the door. Harry chose a situation on the door-step. Here they were quite sheltered from the sun, and quite hidden from the view of the villagers. Harry had no excuse for silence; and so in a quiet way, but with a burning cheek and eloquent eye, he told the tale of his love.

May heard him with many heart-throbbings, and a few ill-concealed tears. "O, Harry! I feared this," said she. "Sweet as it is to know that you love me, it is bitter indeed to know that we can never be happy in this affection."

"But what shall hinder us, dear May?"

"My father, Harry, I can never leave him."

"Of course not; but, he shall have a home with us."

"You must not think of the thing dear Harry. You have already a mother to support, and I can never consent to bring upon you such a burden as poor father would be. Were he merely old and decripid, I might not look upon the case as so hopeless; I might almost *then* consent that he should become a burden to you; but as he is, O, Harry, you know his unfortunate weakness; you know how unfit he is to sit at any fireside, or be a partaker of any domestic society, except such as nature has made sacredly his own. A *daughter* can pardon, can bear with his infirmity; but, O, Harry! *your* home would be desecrated by such an inmate."

Poor May! how bitterly she wept, as this painful and humiliating reflection was breathed into her lover's ear; but he, like a generous and devoted friend, soothed and encouraged her; and though he found that to combat her resolution was idle, he still declared that she only had, and ever should have, undivided empire over his heart.

Now, all this while, there was a little by-scene going on, which we must not conceal from our readers, especially as it had reference to the issue of our tale. Job Woodell, when he parted from his daughter, struck across the clover-fields toward the Admiral; but instead of entering, as was his time-out-of-mind custom, he turned aside, and springing down the rocks, sat for some time gazing thoughtfully upon the great expanse of ocean that lay spread before him. On his left, frowning over the cliffs, rose the roof of the old Admiral, enticing him to his folly; but the sweet, pleading, tearful face of his loved May, would steal into his heart, and paralyze the power of the tempter, in a manner that surprised even the poor victim himself.

"I told May I would soon return," said he, "but if I go *there*, Ned Watkins, and a whole gang of loafers will beset me, and drive all thoughts of home out of my head. So I will keep out of their sight, and for once fulfill my promise."

Job reached his house just after Harry and May had entered it, and hearing their voices as he came up toward the porch where they were sitting, he stopped in front of a window that opened at the side of the porch, and gazing through it, could not only distinctly hear the language, but could also see the faces of the young lovers. The mention of his own name kept his feet riveted to the spot. Their conversation has been detailed, and its effect upon Job, in his present mood, may well be surmised. At first the hot blood rushed in torrents to his brain and face, and the deep disgust he felt for his own folly was pictured in every lineament of his face and countenance. But when he saw May in tears, when he heard her sweet, tremulous voice pronouncing the doom of Harry's fondest hopes, and all for *his* sake, who had so cruelly wronged and disgraced her, he wrung his hands in agony, and unable to suppress his feelings, hurried cautiously through the back entrance of the house, and shut himself up in his chamber.

A sad day was it for May Woodell, after Harry retired. Her garden had lost its interest. Even the favorite pansies only made her weep when she looked on them. She prepared a dinner for her father, however, and strove by an increasing devotion to his wants, to forget her sorrowful thoughts. But the day wore on, and Job did not appear. The dinner was removed untasted.

"Poor father!" said May, "I told him I had scarce money enough to buy us a dinner; I fear he has denied himself, out of consideration for me." And she *tried* to believe this the true solution to his delay, though experience had taught her that his neglect of meals was usually occasioned by a worse than ordinary debauch. How different would have been her feelings, had she known that her erring parent was at this moment in his own chamber, overwhelmed with anguish and remorse! How quickly would she have forgotten every thought of self, and hastened to pour into his ear assurances of her forgiveness and love! Ah, it was better for him, May, that thy tender mercies were a while withheld.

"I *do* think father will return to tea," thought May; and she hastened to prepare a dish for him which she knew he very much liked, and which she had made some personal sacrifice to procure. Those only who have but one object to care for, *one* being to smile on their toils, *one* friend to whom their existence seems a peculiar blessing, can alone understand how every thought and feeling becomes a servitor at *one* shrine.

Job, meanwhile, hearing her light step about the house, rose from the bed where he had thrown himself, bathed his face in the basin of cool water that May's hand kept constantly supplied in his chamber, brushed his hair, and putting on his hat, stole cautiously down into the yard, and betook himself to May's bed of pansies and carnations. Here she espied, and ran out to meet him. Her first glance relieved and gladdened her heart. She held out her hand to greet him.

"How long you have been away, papa! and how glad I am to see you home to tea!" she said, looking into his face with a smile that told him how happy and grateful she felt to meet him in a rational mood once more.

As they sat together at the tea-table, chatting in a sociable and affectionate way, of the thousand little interests dear to a father and child, even though one, alas! is but such in name, May felt not a solitary trace of her morning's sorrow. If she thought of Harry, it was with love and gratitude, but scarcely with pain and regret; for though the same cause remained to prevent their union, how could she think of anything unpleasant or melancholy while her dear father sat by, sober, and full of kind words and gentle attentions?

A week passed on, and Job daily assisted May in arranging and planting her garden, never once going near the Admiral, nor lifting a glass of spirits to his lips. May was in raptures. Only one thing disturbed her felicity; Harry was not by to partake of it. "It is foolish in him to stay away so long," thought she; "for though we must not be lovers, we might certainly be friends." Perhaps the change would not have been so easy, May!

One morning, after breakfast, Job rose from the table, and put on his *old* hat, (May had just braided him a new one,) saying, as he did so, "I am going up to the Admiral this morning. Ned Watkins, and some of my friends there, will begin to wonder at my long absence. Only think, May, it is a whole week since I have been there."

May's smile changed to a look of undisguiseable distress at this unwelcome announcement. "Oh, father!" she exclaimed in a tone of touching entreaty, "do not go any more to that wretched place. I have been so happy this past week, I cannot spare you away. You will not go, dear father?"

Job smoothed her bright hair, and looking good-humoredly into her troubled face, replied, "If I go, your friend Harry will come to see you again; but so long as I stay, you are not likely to enjoy much of his society. I will not be in your way, my child;" and without stopping to listen to her earnest remonstrances, he imprinteda tender kiss upon her cheek, and hurried away to the Admiral.

He found the usual bar-room club assembled. Immediately upon his entrance, they began their assaults upon him for his long absence. He evaded them, marching up to the bar, and throwing down a sixpence, "Give us a mug of stout flip, Rawley," said he; and while this was preparing, he picked up the stump of an old pen, dipped it into the batter-thick ink that stood on the desk, and drawing an old letter from his pocket, tore off the back, and scribbled upon it the following remarkable words:

"This certifies that I, Job Woodell, do hereby give my solemn pledge to abstain wholly, henceforth and forever, from the use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage.

(Signed) JOB WOODELL."

May 15, 1842.

This he placed in the hands of his old fellow-tippler, Ned Watkins, bidding him read it aloud to his companions, while he seized the mug of "flip," and hurried to the door. Lifting it towards his lips, to make the temptation as strong as possible, he suddenly turned it upside down, spilling its smoking contents upon the ground. Then placing the mug in this reversed position upon the bench, he took his pipe from his mouth, and delivered this brief soliloquy:—"Job Woodell, thou art a man again. The fetters that bound thee are broken, and thou art free! Job Woodell, thou art a father. Henceforth the child of thy lost Mary has a father's arm to rely upon for her support, and a father's heart to bless and cherish her. Job Woodell, thou art redeemed. Go home, now, and sing thy hallelujahs!"

Having thus made and solemnized this GOOD RESOLUTION, he entered the bar-room in quest of his hat. He found the group huddled together, in vain striving to spell out his rude hieroglyphics. "Here, let me read it for you," said Job. And taking the paper from Ned's hand, he proclaimed in their astonished ears, tidings of his redemption.

"——! Job Woodell!" exclaimed Ned Watkins, prefacing the name with a loud oath. "What has brought you to this nonsense?"

"*My daughter's love* has brought me to this *sense*," was the calm reply, as he turned with a serious aspect towards the door.

When he entered his own house, he found Harry there, standing with May's hand clasped in his, and both looking very much afflicted. May sprang forward with an exclamation of joy, and twined her arm in his. "Oh, father! I was sure you would return, you are so very kind of late."

"But why do you welcome me, my love, since my arrival will be a signal for Harry's departure! And pray what have you been saying to each other, to cause you to look sorrowful?"

"Harry is going to leave us, papa. He has adopted your old profession of whaling, and goes out in the Dolphin to-morrow. He was just bidding me farewell, as you entered."

"Ah! how is this? I thought you loved May too well to leave her," said Job, laying his hand on Harry's shoulder.

"I do! I do!" answered he, with great emotion, rising to depart; "but what avails it? she refuses to be mine."

He was hurrying from the room to hide the tears that forced themselves to his eyes, when Job's hand detained him. "Stop a moment, my son," said he. "As you pass by Dix's grocery, just be kind enough, will you, to post up this little notice on the door. I wish to make it as public as possible."

Harry's eye glanced hastily over it. "Blessed be God!" cried he, his whole face lighting up with joy. "Is this true? Have you deliberated? Are you serious, Mr. Woodell?"

"Yes, my dear Harry, it is my serious, deliberate, irrevocable pledge—signed, sealed, and solemnized. Show it to May; she stands staring at us in dubious wonder."

May needed but one glance. She threw herself into her father's arms and burst into tears. Father and daughter wept together, but they were delicious tears, expressive of joy that words could not utter. Harry's eyes, too, were overflowing with sympathy; but he retired to the porch, feeling that *their* joy was too sacred to be witnessed, except by Heaven.

In a few minutes Job recalled him. Taking his hand, he placed in it one of May's, and held them clasped together between both his own. "My dear children," said he, "one week ago I was a witness and an auditor of the interview you held in the porch. It awakened me to a sense of my great wickedness, and that very moment I vowed to reform. I have served a week's noviciate; and feel no desire to return to my old life. There lies my pledge. It was written in the haunt, and amid all the temptations of my old vice. I read it aloud to my old companions. They sneered at me, but I did not shrink. *I pitied them.* And now, my dear children, since I have done all this for *your* sakes, show me your gratitude in making yourselves as happy as possible."

How could they refuse a request like this? Harry said nothing further about going to sea, and in the following autumn, took May Woodell to his home, with the title of Mrs. Lovell. Joh lives with them, and has never yet broken, nor repented of his GOOD RESOLUTION.

From the New-York Tribune.

HYDROPATHY, OR WATER CURE.

BY CAPTAIN CLARIDGE.

(Concluded.)

He went with Dr. Mason, of Limerick, to see a young man in consumption, and was accompanied by Dr. Gore, who was of opinion that internal mortification had commenced. The young man was in a very weak state—the doctor said he would die in about three hours; he was dreadfully emaciated, having taken nothing for several days—his eye looked like that of a dying person, and altogether he was in a most hopeless state. His mother said they had had the priest with him, and they were just waiting till he should expire. His opinion, however, was, that it was a capital case; and he inquired of the medical men what they wanted to produce in the patient. They said they wished to do away with the irritation of the stomach, and strengthen the pulse, which was so feeble as scarcely to be felt. Well, to work he went—perspiration was produced by the usual means—he was afterwards washed over with cold water—went to sleep, and afterwards awoke much refreshed. While the treatment was going on, the house was filled by neighbors, who looked on with astonishment, and had he not succeeded, he believed it would have fared hard with him. He afterwards grew greatly better, to the great delight of the mother, who went down on her knees, and blessed God for the recovery of her son. At a lecture he gave in the town, he stated the circumstance, and called upon Dr. Massie to report the case to the meeting. He was much displeased at being thus publicly called upon; but, like an honest man, told the truth, and said, singular to say, the water produced everything that he, as a medical man wished to produce. This, and other cases getting abroad, he was besieged by all kinds of people for advice as to the cure of their relatives. At Lismore, an old gentleman came to him on a Sunday morning, with his daughter, ill with a pulmonary complaint. Dr. Nugent was sent for, and he stated that the case was incurable. As he (Capt. C.) was under the necessity of leaving the town soon after, he could not attend to the case himself, but he asked Dr. Nugent, as a gentleman, to do in the matter exactly as he desired him. He promised to do so; the patient was put into the wet sheet, and afterwards treated in the usual way; and he would now read a letter from Nugent, showing the result:

My Dear Sir:—As I promised to report to you upon the pulmonary case of the girl, Leahy, whom you put under the hydropathic system, I hasten, briefly, to redeem my promise. She is, you will be happy to hear, much improved in every respect, her respiration and pulse decidedly better, her cough less troublesome, and the pain of the left clavicle gone, which for several months she has had no intermissions from. She is, I think, getting over her extreme emaciation, and the hectic perspirations have altogether disappeared. I confess the improvement in this patient has a good deal staggered me, as, though I go a great deal with the Preissnitz system in functional disease, yet, in a case of this kind, now under treatment here, I was, and to a certain degree am, skeptical. The leading symptoms are still harassing, but their intensity has been much palliated, and if it should go on to a radical cure, why I will "throw physic to the dogs," and take altogether to cold water.

I will watch the case and report progress.

Yours, dear Captain C. most sincerely,

Lismore, July 30, 1843. J. NUGENT, M. D.

At Waterford he made a complaint at a public lecture, that the medical men would not give him an opportunity of showing what the cold water could do. Several medical men went with him from the meeting to his hotel, and after consulting a while, they said they would give him a case to operate upon. They accordingly fixed a case, that of a man who had been ill of rheumatic gout, who had not been out of bed for six months, and could not move either his legs or arms. This man they declared to be incurable, but he at once pronounced it a capital case. He put him under the sweating process; when on being asked to move his legs, the man found to his astonishment, that he could do so easily. He had since gone on improving, as the following would show, from Mr. Jackson, a Quaker in Waterford:

I have the satisfaction to tell thee that Jonathan Dillon is considered much better to-day; indeed, yesterday, Dr. Carroll told me he had evidently improved, but that he had so often had favorable changes before, he (the doctor) was fearful of ascribing this to the new mode of treatment.

Half-past two, P. M. Dr. Carroll has just now called at my office, and states that Jonathan Dillon is considerably better, and now walks with the aid of crutches, which he had not been able to do before.

Captain Claridge then proceeded to show the importance of young men going to Grafenbergh, acquiring a knowledge of the cold water cure, and setting up establishments in this country, provided the medical men refused to take it up. He also recommended the formation of societies, to inquire into the truth of hydropathy—to propagate the result of such inquiries to others—and, if true, to promote its adoption as a matter of humanity. It was a matter of the deepest importance to all. Individually, it was of great importance to know how to ward off disease from themselves and families; collectively, would they permit so great a discovery to be put aside merely from the opposition of interested parties? The formation of a society in Glasgow would, no doubt, be productive of as good results as in any of the other large towns in England and Ireland, and would be of the greatest benefit to the whole of Scotland. The captain sat down amid loud applause.

From the New Orleans Tropic.

LEGISLATIVE FUN IN MISSISSIPPI.

At the evening session, every member of the House was in his place, and a crowd of ladies graced the gallery. Some rare fun was expected, as it was known that Lindsay, the representative from Itawamba county, was to speak. This person, a repudiating locofoco, is, or was, a Methodist preacher, uncouth in his manners, ungainly in his person, and illiterate in his discourse. Some of this man's fitness for his position, may be gathered from the following verbatim report of his speech, on the motion to reduce the salaries of the judiciary, a locofoco measure, introduced a few days since, and opposed by the respectable of both parties: "Where I was raised, *in old Alarbarm*, we never gin a judge of any sort more nor fifteen hundred a year; and if I may be allowed to conjecture, I *do* reckon that we had just as good judges in Alarbarm, as you can raise in *Musseysap*. My consti-*chew*-ents sent me here to practise 'conomy—tharfore, I goes for 'economy; and sorry am I to observe that many which I thought knowed better, are a strainin' and a reachin' *arter the high pus*." (purse.)

This learned legislator on this evening, Thursday, introduced a bill, which the clerk of the House several times attempted to read, but was prevented by his own fits of laughter, and the tumultuous cachinations of the members.

"A bill to relieve the free citizens of Mississippi and travelers. Be it hereby enacted, that it is lawful for any white citizens of Mississippi to sell alcoholous, vinous, and other fermenting liquors, in any quantity over a quart, provided he keeps order in the house when the same is drunk."

Amidst the heartiest laughter, the speaker left the chair, and the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to consider the bill, which was again and again read over by the clerk. Dr. L. was desired to explain *who* was to keep order, and who was to be drunk. He rose and uttered the following speech:

"Well, I railly aint no objection myself, to 'splain the bill, becas *I* think the bill 'splains itself. We all on us like a leetle drap o' suthin' ardent—some genelmen carries a bottle—some genelmen don't—*I* allus carries a bottle *myself*, and I knows many genelmen now standin' and sittin' round me, who takes a drap whenever they kin—and these genelmen, as well as *myself*, is now by law obliged to buy a gallon when we oney wants a half pint, which is contrary to the Constitution, contrary to human natur, and contrary to the rights of all free white citizens of the state of Masseysap, and travelers in giniral.

"*I* knowed a genelman—a right genteel genelman, too, he was, I do assure *you*, genelmen—who was travelin in this State with his wife and a hull crowd o' leetle ones in a waggin, and his lady was tuck with the shakes, and his bottle was run out. *There* was a fix to be in, genelmen! he didn't want to buy a gallon of ardent, *becas it war'nt convenient*—so he asked the landlord to fill his bottle at a fair price—and the landlord, who was a clever feller, and knowed what it was to have the shakes, and be out o' licker, why he filled the genelman's bottle at a fair price, when another genelman who was standing by, says, 'You're a goin contrary to the laws of Masseysap,' and then this genelman goes out and informs agin the landlord for selling licker to the genelman whose wife had the shakes by less than a gallon, and if they hadn't knowed him well all round them parts, he'd a been fined and imprisoned for doing as any genelman would like to be done when 'is bottle is run out, which is contrary to the rights of any white man, traveler or not.

"I knowed another genelman, whose horse was tuck right sick, and he was told that a little brandy and a haaf pint o' camp*fire* would cure the beast. Now, *he* was temperance and never drinked—but for all that, he was obliged to buy a gallon, when he oney wanted a drap to mix with the camp*fire*. Is this law for any white man to live by?

"Why, I *myself*, gentlemen, were once travelin' down there by the Yellerbusher, with a friend, beside myself, when I felt like takin' a small horn, havin' been movin' right smartly thro' the swamps the hull day, which my friend said was correct, and unanimously agreed with me in the same. Well, I *myself* was obliged to pay for a gallon, when I oney wanted to fill a three half-pint bottle—which is my size, as it fits well into the side-pocket of my top coat, though some genelmen's bottles is larger, but I never knowed a genelman carry a bottle big enough to hold a gallon."

This speech was loudly cheered throughout, and Mr. L.'s solemn earnestness of manner contributed materially to heighten the effect. The best of the joke is, that his bugbear, "the gallon law," as it is called, has been repealed, for some considerable length of time.

A member moved to strike out "alcoholous and vinous," and insert "table beer."

An amendment was moved and seconded, and put on paper—the clerk read it aloud, and it proved to be a parody on Russell's song, "A life on the ocean wave," beginning, "A day in a muddy swamp."

Another "amendment" introduced the epigram now going the rounds of the papers, about the marriage of a Mr. Bee to a Miss Fowler, ending with

"And soon there will, if heaven pleases,
Be a swarm of little beeses."

Here the fun grew fast and furious—the ladies left the gallery—the chairman rapped in vain, and Mr. Balfour rose in great heat, and said,

"Mr. Speaker, look at the chandelier! look at this splendid pile of building—look at everybody about us—is this a place to play the fool? I look upon the bill proposed, as a disgrace to the nation—a disgrace to the State—a disgrace to the house of God!"

The committee reported progress—the bill was ordered to *lay* upon the table, and the House adjourned about ten o'clock at night. D. V. M.

Jackson, Miss. February 8, 1844.

BLOODY RELIC OF BARBARISM.

Heidelberg, Germany, January 22.—An awful spectacle has this day been presented, such as, happily, in modern times, has rarely been witnessed—the decapitation of a woman for the murder of her husband. The wretched murderess was a native of Wilhelmsfield, an inconsiderable hamlet in Odenwald, about two leagues distant from Heidelberg, and was the wife of a peasant. A clergyman attended to offer her the consolations of religion in her last moments. The culprit exhibited no extraordinary emotion, but surveyed the apparatus of death with perfect composure. Her contenance presented nothing of the ashy paleness of fear. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and took her seat in a chair which was placed in the centre of it. A troop of dragoons was drawn up around the platform. A short prayer was read by the clergyman, after which, part of her attire was removed from her neck, and a cap was then drawn over her face. The remainder of the melancholy spectacle was sufficiently dramatic. There were two executioners, the principal minister of justice, and an assistant. The latter twisted the sufferer's hair, and held it up at arm's length. When this was done, the principal headsman advanced with a broad two-handed sword. A silent thrill ran through the assembled multitude, who now understood that the fatal moment had arrived. The dreadful weapon was raised by the executioner, and a single blow severed the head from the body. A great flow of blood instantaneously followed. The head was then held up to the gaze of the crowd, while the body sank through a trap-door, and the dismal scene closed.

DEATH OF A DRUNKARD.

The Salem (Ohio) Village Register, furnishes us with the particulars of a death which occurred in New Lisbon, a town in the vicinity, on the 10th instant. There was a fox-hunt on that day, at which liquor had been freely used. Becoming too much intoxicated to continue the hunt, the poor wretch lay for "some hours on the cold ground, attended only by his son, a lad about twelve years old, who, on finding himself unable to get his drunken father away, went home and informed his mother of the circumstance. Still hoping he would return, she did not send after him—night came on, and he was accidentally discovered by a neighbor, who carried him to a house near by, where he expired in a few hours. His body was brought to town, and for some cause exhibited at a grocery. The effect upon his wife is said to have been horrifying and heart-rending.

The next morning, the grocer, who had sold the man liquor, brought out the remainder of his stock and burned it—having first signed the pledge. His example was followed by another grocer. At the funeral, the pledge was laid upon the dead man's coffin, and seventy-one persons signed it on the spot. A collection of eighty dollars was then made for the widow, fifty of which were contributed by the grocer who had sold the liquor to the deceased.

NAPOLEON'S HEART.

When Bonaparte died at St. Helena, it is well known that his heart was extracted with the design of being preserved. The British physician who had charge of that wondrous organ, had deposited it in a silver basin, among water, and retired to rest, leaving two tapers burning beside it in his chamber. He confesses to his friends, while narrating the particulars, that he felt nervously anxious as the custodier of such a deposit; and though he reclined, he did not sleep. While lying thus awake, he heard, during the silence of the night, first a rustling noise, then a plunge among the water in the basin, and then the sound of an object falling with a rebound on the floor, all occurring with the quickness of thought. Dr. A——— sprang from his bed, and the cause of the intrusion on his repose was soon explained—it was an enormous rat dragging the heart of Bonaparte to its hole A few moments more, and that which had been too vast in its ambition to be satisfied with the sovereignty of continental Europe, would be found even in a more degrading position than the dust of Cæsar, stopping a beer barrel—*it would have been devoured as the supper of a rat.*

EDUCATION.

The following brief but beautiful passage occurs in a late article in Frazer's Magazine:

"Education does not commence with the alphabet. It begins with a mother's look—with a father's nod of approbation, or a sigh of reproof—with a sister's gentle pressure of the hand, or a brother's noble act of forbearance—with handfulls of flowers in green and daisy meadows—with bird's nests admired but not touched—with creeping ants and almost imperceptible emmets—with humming bees and glass bee hives—with pleasant walks in shady lanes—and with thoughts directed, in sweet and kindly tones and words, to nature, to beauty, to acts of benevolence, to deeds of all virtue, and to the source of all good, to God himself."

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—*Job.* xvii. 8.

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at this office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

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